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CULROSS AND TULLIALLAN

OR

PERTHSHIRE ON FORTH

CULROSS FROM THE PIER.

CULROSS AND TULLIALLAN

OR

PERTHSHIRE ON FORTH

ITS HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

WITH

ELUCIDATIONS OF SCOTTISH LIFE AND CHARACTER
FROM THE BURGH AND KIRK-SESSION
RECORDS OF THAT DISTRICT

BY

DAVID BEVERIDGE

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
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CULROSS AND TULLIALLAN.

CHAPTER XV.

THE BURGH RECORDS FROM THE REVOLUTION TO 1698.

THE Revolution has been accomplished and the new *régime* inaugurated, greatly, on the whole, to the satisfaction of the country—at least to that of the Presbyterians. Culross is affected by the change like other places, as is unmistakably evidenced by the meeting of town council which is held on 16th January 1689, in obedience to an order issued a fortnight previously by the Scottish Privy Council. This order itself had proceeded on a petition

"Presented by certain persons for themselves, and in name and behalf of the inhabitants of the said burgh of Culross, showing that the present magistrates of the said burgh were illegallie elected, contrar to law and the constitution of the burgh, and have exerced the office of magistrates in the said place throw ther unwarrantable establishment since the month of Jany. Jaivic$^{m.}$[1] eightie-seven [1687], during which

[1] See p. 59.

tyme they have misapplied the common good, and converted the same to their own uses; and for promoting the Popish interest and their designes, and siclyke, James Mackie and Daniel M'Donald, two of the present baylies, are truelie and actuallie Papists, and have been severall tymes at mass in the Abbay;[1] and not only so, but for to adde to their insolence and arrogance, for advancing Poperie they have reallie seduced Archibald Bowie, couper, in Glendevon, to comply with their hellish purposes and doctrine, and have also been using sinistruous methods to prevaill to that same purpose upon severall others."

This is pretty strong language, but probably did not greatly overstep the truth, considering the general misgovernment since the Restoration, and the special policy and aims of James II. At all events, the Privy Council, who may possibly indeed have prompted the petition in the first instance, responded to it by granting warrant to those magistrates and councillors who had been in office previous to the usurpation by the Crown of the elective privileges of the burghers, to resume their functions, and continue in them till the following Michaelmas. At that date there was to be a new election, in accordance with the original constitution of the burgh; and the same Earl of Kincardine who had superintended the arbitrary nominations in 1687 and 1688 was now ordered to see to the proper reinstatement, as far as possible, of the old and regularly elected town council. A thorough "purge," not unlike that of

[1] This must refer to the King's Chapel attached to Holyrood House, which James II. had converted into a Roman Catholic place of worship.

Pride and Cromwell, was accordingly carried out with regard to the existing magistracy and council, some members of which showed great recalcitration, both in giving up office and rendering an account of their stewardship.

In the succeeding month of February, a missive having been received by the town clerk "from his Hienes the Prince of Orange, for calling the whole burgesses for electing a commissioner for representing the burgh at the meeting of the estates at Edinburgh on the 14th March next," the council file out in grand procession to the market-cross, where the community are assembled. A tremendous uproar takes place there, in consequence of the two sons of ex-Bailie Mackie, the Papist, falling foul of the town clerk after he had finished reading the document in question, and hurling at him the epithets of "rascall and villain." The magistrates order the arrest of these disturbers of the peace; but this is fiercely resisted by the Mackies, who, moreover, when an unfortunate deacon of the name of Halliday was endeavouring to aid the town officers in the exercise of their duty, "did enter upon the said Alexander Halliday, and hang on his hair most masterfullie and cruellie." Next, on the bailies summoning them forthwith to the court-house, James Mackie, along with ex-Bailie Dalgleish, "did most insolentlie challenge and controvert their authoritie as magistrates." Not being able apparently to enforce the attendance of the two last-named offenders, the council, on the report of the bailies, sentence, in absence, Mackie and

Dalgleish in a fine of £100 Scots. It does not appear whether this was exacted or not; but the new magistrates succeed, at all events, in carrying out the nomination to the ensuing Convention of Royal Burghs at Edinburgh, and "Mr William Areskine, lawful sone to the deceast David, Lord Cardross," is chosen.

The Mr Erskine thus chosen as commissioner for Culross was Colonel William Erskine, brother of Colonel John Erskine, the celebrated "Black Colonel," of whom we shall afterwards hear a good deal. The two brothers were the sons of David, second Lord Cardross, by his second wife, Mary Bruce, daughter of the second George Bruce of Carnock, and sister of Edward and Alexander, first and second Earls of Kincardine. Their half-brother by their father's first marriage was Henry, third Lord Cardross, who suffered severely for his Presbyterian proclivities, and had to take refuge with his brother John in Holland, from which they returned at the Revolution with William of Orange. John Erskine, generally styled, from his complexion, the "Black Colonel," became afterwards purchaser, by judicial sale, of the greater portion of the estates of the Kincardine family, and was thenceforward known as Colonel John Erskine of Carnock. His elder brother William, now elected a member of the town council of Culross, became the proprietor of the estate of Torry, in the adjoining parish of Torryburn, and was the father of a Colonel William Erskine, who, from his fair complexion, has been generally identified with the personage known as the "White Colonel," in

antithesis to the "Black Colonel," his uncle. But as I shall afterwards show, the idea is erroneous, the real Simon Pure or "White Colonel" being one of the Erskines of Alva.

The new *régime* having now established itself on a tolerably secure basis, the Culross magistrates find themselves at leisure to turn their attention to domestic matters. The influence of restored Presbyterian strictness is evidently again beginning to exert itself in the regulations for the better observance of the Sabbath and suppression of nocturnal revels. But, as usual, the "middings" are still the *bête noire* of the municipal authorities, under all governments, Presbyterian or Prelatic.

On 15th January 1690 there is registered in the burgh minutes a "list and inventor of the books and registers lying in the register chist, belonging to the burgh of Culros, within the tolbooth therof, this present day truly taken up." A supplemental list is made up on 24th January. These, and the discussions regarding them, form an important epoch in the burgh history, and present matter of equally the highest interest and regret. We learn from them that in 1690 all the books, charters, and papers mentioned in the two lists were in existence, and in the custody of the magistrates in the town repositories of Culross. They must have contained much valuable information, and ought to have been carefully preserved, whether their contents affected the material interests of the burgh or not. At least the town's charter and accompanying documents, with

the council minute-books, ought all to have been guarded with the most religious care. But how many of them are in existence now, or how many of them can be produced? I am sorry to say, *scarcely one ancient writ or evident from the charter of erection downwards is now to be found.* There are indeed copies of the charters of 1490 and 1588, erecting Culross respectively into a burgh of barony and a royal burgh. But what has become of the rest, or where are they now? It must be admitted that almost all the registers of sasines of property within the burgh have been carefully preserved, as involving matters of tangible and pecuniary import. And all the council minute-books, or, as they are termed, "register books of courts and councills," from 1653 to the present time, are now in existence. But the three minute-books recorded at the commencement of the list, extending from 1602 to 1650, are nowhere to be found. There still, however, exists the dilapidated volume (not included in the catalogue of 1690) of which I have already availed myself, as containing the history of the civic transactions from the erection of the burgh in 1588 to the end of the century. But it is most disappointing to find missing the records of so important a period as that from the accession of James VI. to the British throne to the commencement of Cromwell's rule in Scotland. As regards the disappearance of many of the individual documents, it appears that on different occasions they were lent to various parties. Lady Veronica, Dowager-Countess of Kincardine, seems to have

had the town charter for a time in her possession; and in the many profitless lawsuits in which the burgh became engaged, its agents in Edinburgh would naturally have the town papers transmitted to them, and might sometimes retain them either in security of their business accounts or from mere forgetfulness. Antiquarians and others, too, might occasionally have the loan of them, and not be too scrupulous in duly returning them. They may even have been turned to baser uses. The eighteenth century is notorious for its vandalism, and for the ruthless and wanton destruction which took place during it of many interesting relics of the past, monumental and chirographic. And as regards the missing minute-books, there is some evidence to show that if they have not "melted into air, into thin air," they have at least been resolved into elemental gases. There is a tradition in Culross, not altogether unsubstantiated, that a town clerk of former days, rather noted both for inebriety and impecuniosity, was confined by an importunate creditor within the walls of his own official tolbooth. Companions were allowed to visit him in the evenings, and mitigate, by jovial converse, the monotony of his captivity. They were all votaries of the fragrant weed, and pipe-lights were in frequent requisition. Acting on Dean Swift's advice to servants to use whatever came to hand for the purposes of the moment, they are said to have dragged from their obscurity and most unceremoniously made light of the old council minute-books.

The following extracts serve to connect the town of Culross with the naval history of the time, when King James, with the assistance of the French king, was endeavouring to regain footing in England, and the Channel was the scene of various naval operations, terminating in the brilliant victory over the French fleet at Cape La Hogue :—

"3 *February* 1690.

"The quhilk day the councell, being convened within the tolbuth of the burgh, and conforme to the proclamation for voluntarie seamen, and the giving in of a list, and for the reporting of the samyne in manner and efter the forme and tenor of the said proclamation and letter direct be the Earll of Crawfurd for that effect: In obedience therto, and conforme to the Act of councell, the said Robert Blaw, one of the present baillies, past to the marcatt crose of Alloway and Clakmanan and Kincardine, as also Baillie Adam and Baillie Gray past to Torrie and Valeyfield, and ther caused beatt drums to the effect and for the causes forsaid.

"The same day compeared Robert Wright, John Peacok, James Peacok, Patrick Andersone, James Peirrie, John Stevensone, and voluntarly offered themselves as seamen for his Majestie's service, conforme to the proclamation and conditions therin mentioned. The magistrats and town counsell offeres the pay conforme to proclamation, they always finding caution for ther entering to service when requyred."

On 14th October 1690 we find the town council nominating their commissioners (probably for the first time since Cromwell's conquest) to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in Edinburgh. The individual chosen was John Erskine of Balgownie, one of the principal heritors in the parish,

and an ancestor of the present Cunningham family, who through him are descended from the Earls of Mar. There is also made the same day an order for taking account of and returning a report on the number of hearths throughout the burgh, in view of the tax or "hearth-money" which had recently been imposed by the Government. It must have been a very unpopular impost, and almost as objectionable, on the score of health and comfort, as the window-tax, only abolished about thirty years ago.

A grand visitation is made to Culross in August 1691. The Convention of Burghs had appointed certain commissioners

"To be here at Culross, for taking trayell and inspection of the present condition of this burgh of Culross, and to be heare upon Mononday next; and for their attendance and giving trew information, with the magistrates they nominatt the persones following—to witt, Robert Hunter, elder, laitt baillie, James Barklay, laitt baillie, the Dean of Gild and Theasorer James Blaw, James Neasmuth, George Gray, John Sharpe, and to be waitted and intertayned upon the toune's expenses."

It is evident that great expectations were formed of the benefits and relief which the town was to receive from this visit. It was resolved to spare no expense or trouble in propitiating the commissioners, and securing a favourable report from them to the Convention:—

"18 *August* 1691.

"The qlk day being convened within the tolbuth of the burgh the magistratts and a pairt of the toune councell

nominatt the last counsell day for waitting upon the commissioners of burrowes, who compered this day, John Mure, Provost of Aire, and Mr James Smollett of Bonnell, two commissioners of burrowes, for taking of information of the condition of this place, who is instantly admitted burgesses of this burgh, and admitted to the freedom therof, and hes given ther oath *more burgi honorifico,* and Tobias Smollett their clerk, with their servants—who hes trewlie promised to shew forth to the borrowes the staitt and condition of the toun, and the debts therof, with the staitt and condition of the scoll, peire, and herbor, and for that effect hes taken ane nott of information allong with them."

Some interest may be felt in the above extract when we see among the names of the commissioners that of James Smollett of Bonhill, afterwards known as Sir James Smollett, one of the commissaries of Edinburgh, and grandfather of the author of 'Roderick Random.' He figures in that novel in no very complimentary guise as the hero's grandfather. George Smollett, probably a son of his, was at this time the agent for the Convention of Burghs. And another son of his, doubtless, was the Tobias Smollett mentioned above, who gave his name to the great novelist, his nephew. Let us now see how the commissioners were entertained at Culross :—

"22 *August* 1691.

"The quhilk day the magistrates and toune councell being convened within the counsell hous of the burgh, and conforme to the lait Act of toune councell, past upon the 13 day of August current, appointing the commissioners of borrowes to be intertayned upon the toune's expenses; and these commissioners having come, and hes taken trayell and

inspection of the toune's affares, and of the sad staitt and condition theroff, and of their debts, who is to report the samyne to the borrowes; and being intertayned in Baillie Adam his hous, the expenses thereof and particulare accompt follows, viz.—

Payed to Alexr. Halliday's wyff for horse-meat, stabell, meal, and their servants . .	£1	15	6
Item, for their dinner, meatt and drinkings, and brandie and other things . .	4	2	6
Item, to the clerk in money, 2 uperyke dollersis[1]	5	16	0
Item, for ribbons to their burgess tickets .	1	11	6
Item, skipears efter dinner . . .	0	4	0
Item, parrting with them at Dunfermline .	1	14	0
Item, for a tow to the tolbuth bell . .	1	0	0
	£16	3	6

And which particulare accompt extends to sixteen punds three shilling sixpennies; and the counsell ordaynes the samyne to be payed with the first of the toune's money that came to hand."

Notwithstanding all this magnificent entertainment, including a grand dinner, a sail on the Firth afterwards, and a solemn *bonailie* at Dunfermline, whilst the very bell that welcomed them had a brand-new rope provided for the occasion, there is little reason to believe that any material benefit accrued to the town from the visit. She continued to flounder on through her difficulties, and only experienced, after many years, a temporary alleviation of them through the generosity of Sir George Preston.

[1] Imperial or rix dollars.

There now occurs a strange episode in the municipal history of Culross, which has repeated itself in our own day. An interregnum or deadlock, similar to that which took place recently, marks a period of four years in the last decade of the seventeenth century. From 1691 to 1695 the burgh was destitute of a magistracy, and an Act of the Scottish Parliament had to be procured for authorising the re-election of a town council and the imposition of a stent. Four persons are by the said Act appointed as overseers to conduct the levying and application of the impost—viz., the Earl of Kincardine, Sir Alexander Bruce of Broomhall, Mr William Erskine, and the Laird of Balgownie. There appears to have been in 1691 a resignation of the magistrates, from a dread of being involved in liability for the town's debts.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE KIRK-SESSION RECORDS FROM 1693 TO 1704.

AFTER the removal of Bishop Ramsay from Culross in 1684, the first and second charges were filled respectively by Mr Robert Wright and Mr Alexander Young, who were appointed thereto in that year. Both remained faithful to Episcopacy, and were deposed by the Scottish Privy Council at the Revolution for refusing to read the proclamation of William of Orange. They apparently continued to officiate in the neighbourhood of Culross for some time after their deposition, and, as we shall see, attracted more than once the hostile notice of the kirk-session, now presided over by the celebrated James Fraser of Brea. On the expulsion of Wright and Young he was appointed to the first charge, but the second charge remained vacant from the Revolution till 1698. As he was a man of considerable reputation, a short sketch of his history, derived from his own memoirs, before his appointment to Culross, may not be unacceptable.

Fraser of Brea, so called from the ancestral estate

which he inherited, was born in the parish of Kirkmichael, Ross-shire, in 1639. His family was of some note in that quarter, and his father, Sir James Fraser of Brea, Baronet, was the author of a treatise on certain questions of divinity.

His first settlement seems to have been in the bishopric of Moray, where he soon got into trouble for holding conventicles and refusing to acknowledge the bishop's authority. He was apprehended in 1677, examined before the Privy Council, and sent a prisoner to the Bass, where he continued for two years and a half. After being liberated from thence, he was again apprehended for continuing his religious ministrations, brought before the Privy Council, and confined, first in the Castle of Edinburgh, and afterwards in Blackness Castle. After another long confinement he was liberated, through the intercession and bond of his friends, on condition that he quitted the country. He took ship for London in May, and arrived there on 16th June 1682. In July 1683 he was apprehended and imprisoned for six months in Newgate for refusing to take the Oxford oath. At this point his diary breaks off, and all that his editors seem to know further about him is, that he eventually returned to his native land, and was settled as minister of Culross. The greater part of his diary is a record of his religious experiences, and does not contain much that is valuable in a historical point of view. He, however, gives a very interesting description of the then condition of the Bass. He says that there was

on the uppermost part of it "a garden where herbs grow, with some cherry-trees, of the fruit of which I several times tasted." Below that, he says, was a chapel; but as there was no chaplain, this was used as a storehouse for ammunition. Below this, again, were the fort and rooms for the soldiers and prisoners. On the upper part of the island there was as much grass, he says, as pastured about twenty sheep, and there he was allowed to take solitary walks. He mentions, too, the solan-geese, and the difficulty of landing on the Bass. Sometimes, he says, they endured great privations from the scarcity of provisions and water, their stores being all brought in boats from the mainland, though rain-water was collected in the clefts of the rocks. The soldiers did not treat the prisoners well, though apparently they did not practise such cruelties as were exercised at Dunnottar Castle. Fraser tells us that at the time of his marriage he was in debt; but in the latter part of his life he seems to have been a man of considerable means.

A break occurs in the session records from 1684 to 1693. In the latter year they are resumed, and kept continuously from thence down to the present day. A very decided change of tone is perceptible in the following extracts:—

"4 *January* 1693.

"John Yelton, in the west quarter, delated for beating of his wife and most unchristian carriages in his familie, ordered to be cited against the next session; and Grange M'Gill[1] ordered to speak to him.

[1] Hew M'Gill of Grange.

"The session taking to consideration the sad and lamentable condition of the church and parish under their oversight, especiallie unfruitfulness under the Gospel and means of grace, contempt thereof and opposition thereunto, the ignorance, profanity, neglect of the worship of God in families, the abounding of drunkenness, lying, swearing, and especiallie of the increase of the sin of uncleanness, both fornication and adulterie, have, from their sense of their danger and dewtie, thought fit to humble themselves before God, and to deprecate His anger, and grace for help; and have appointed Thursday next week for observation of the said day, with praying and fasting and preaching, and the same to be intimat from pulpit next Lord's Day."

If the above extract is to be taken *au pied de la lettre*, Culross must have been at that time in a dreadful state indeed. But there is a wonderful similarity in the language of all these jeremiads throughout the session records, and it is very questionable whether such strong and indiscriminate denunciations, which possess always a certain morbid attraction and interest, are ever productive of any real good.

"17 *January* 1693.

"The which day Baillie Adam gave in on paper a written account of the persons, both in burgh and landward, lyable for head and through stones, and for mortcloths respective, and further ordered that the persons lyable be ranked in their respective quarters; and the elders of each quarter, with James Anderson, be ordered to speak to the persons owing, that they make payment and give in their due proportion to the church treasurer, and report made hereof against the next day."

"Through-stones"[1] and "head-stones" seem to have been prohibited in churchyards in those days, except on payment of fees, which, along with those arising from the loan of the mortcloth, formed no inconsiderable portion of the revenues of a kirk-session. When through or head stones were erected without permission, or payment of the customary dues, they were liable to be trundled summarily out of the churchyard, or thrown over the wall:—

"25 *January* 1693.

"John Yelton makes his permission, and promises amendment."

"11 *April* 1693.

"John Johnston, in Castlehill, delated for riotous feasting on the Lord's Day afternoon in the time of afternoon sermon, cited, and appearing, denyes that there was anything of that, though urged with great seriousness to acknowledge his fault, but acknowledges that through mistake he was not at sermon; and was then rebuked for his absence from the ordinance, and exhorted to keep and wait on the ordinances better in time coming."

A resolution is passed of this date—29th May 1693—"that ten pounds Scots be ordered for mainteaning of a burse for this year, and to be given in to the Presbitrie at their next sitting."

And on the following day: "The ten pounds ordeaned to be given in to the Presbitrie for maintenance of a burse, brought back again and delivered to the treasurer, was, with £5 more, ordered to be given to an hopfull young youth to be Laureat

[1] Flat stones resting on props—from Anglo-Saxon *thruh*, a stone coffin.

this yeare, called James Sands, to help him to his degrees."

"Complaint being made of profanation of the Lord's Day by both men and women and children, by their wandering and gading about in streets and fields: Warning thereof and publict admonition from the pulpit to be given next Lord's Day; holding furth the end thereof, and charging them to keep within doores that day, and to be taken up with religious exercises both privat and publict."

The faith in charms seems deeply rooted in the popular mind, and is by no means eradicated even at the present day. The Church made great efforts to repress and punish such practices as a trafficking with the powers of darkness. Here is a record of a prosecution on this account :—

"29 *June* 1693.

"John Young, in the Valleyfield, delated for charming, summoned, called, and appearing, interrogated as to his charming, declared as follows—viz., that being some time ago called to cure a certain sick person, he used these words: 'Little thing hath wronged thee, nothing can mend thee but Father, Son, and Holie Ghost, all three, and our sweet Lady. In eternitie let never wax, but away to the waine, as the dew goes of yeard and stane. I seek help to this distressed person in thy name.' He likewise acknowledged that he used the same words in curing of a woman in the Blaire, who was for years thereafter weell; and that by the same words he cured Robert Bruce in the Shyres miln,—and the disease these persons had, he said, was a splen, which he siemed to the session to understand as of a disease put upon them through envy and splen. And being interrogat if he used any gestures or postures whiles he was pronouncing these words, he could not

deny but that first he rubbed his own hand upon a bare stone, and rubbed the breast, stroaking it 3 times, of the person affected, and siemed to say that he prescribed the use of some herbs to the patient. The session did unaminously conclude him guilty of charming; whereupon being again called, the minister did endeavor to hold out the evill of his way, telling him that his cures were not effected without the help of the devill, and not only to forbear the same in tyme comming, but to mourn before God, and to seek mercie through Christ for using of the divell's prescriptions, and that the witches and warlocks used God's words and made mention of the name of God and Christ in theire services; and he being removed, the session did think fit to advise with the presbetrie how to carrie with him."

"28 *August* 1693.

"Complaint being made of several persons, whose children are baptized on the Lord's Day, do in the afternoon profane the Sabbath by drinking together and talking of vain discourses: For preventing of which abuse in tymes to come, it is ordered that all persons having children to be baptized, when they come to the minister that they bring an elder in the quarter with them, who may give testimony of them; and that they be ingadged to keep no feasts on the Sabbath, or otherwayes to have their children baptized on the week dayes."

"31 *October* 1693.

"A poor young man, weel reported of, called Mr Morton, the eldest son of the Laird of Cameron, sufficiently known, making his moan to the session, and being likewise lame, 40s. Scots ordered to be given him."

"17 *May* 1694.

"The session, taking to consideration that several persons are contumacious and refuse to submit to the censure of

the Church, or to acknowledge her authoritie, and being summoned, do not appear before them, have therefore enacted, that after privat admonition the minister declare their fault in face of the congregation, and declare them incapable of Church privileges, and cut them off from our communion, and warn the congregation to beware of, and to keep distance with them; and that prayer both before and after shall be made to bring the sinner to repentance."

The ministers who refused to conform to Presbytery at the Revolution, and were in consequence deprived of their livings, continued in many cases to officiate in the neighbourhood, and gave great displeasure to the supporters of the new state of things. They received the designation of curates,—a term which carried with it a considerable degree of opprobrium, from the name having been originally given to those who filled the pulpits of the ejected ministers after the Restoration.

"17 *July* 1694.

"William Symrel appearing, produced a testificat of his marriage by a curat; he was asked who they were that testified of his being thrie tym proclaimed, but denyed to tell. He was told of his sin in leaving his own parosh church and marrying in such a disorderly way, and was ordained to come and speak with the minister, which he promised to do."

"14 *August* 1694.

"The minister by the session is desired to move to the next ensuing presbitrie for their concurrence to settle Mr Geo. Maire expectant for present , as colleague and helper to him in the office of the ministrie in this place, and which was undertaken by the minister."

Mr Mair's settlement as minister of the second charge of Culross was not completed till 1698.

"21 *August* 1694.

"David Sands and Wm. Symrell to be dealt with by the minister and our elders, that they may be brought to some sense of their sin; and the curat who baptized their children to be inquired after, and complained of to the presbitrie in whose bounds he shall be found to reside, that he may be proceeded against."

"5 *Septr.* 1694.

"Mr Bruce in Kinkairn, married, and come to years, intending to follow his book, and himself not able to prosecute his studies, being poore—in respect of his unblameable life, and to encourage such designs, ordered a rix-dollar to be given him. He was formerlie several tymes supplied by the session."

Mr Alexander Young, the incumbent of the second charge of Culross, who was deposed at the Revolution, seems to have remained in the neighbourhood and performed various ecclesiastical functions, in defiance of the authorities. His services appear to have been very convenient for those who were lying under Church censure:—

"13 *June* 1695.

"Ordered that Mr Young's manifold disorders, speciallie in baptising scandalous persons, and endeavouring to draw away others after him, and hardning of wicked men in their errors and alienation to the way of God, and being a receptacle for all to flie to that wold shunn the censure of the Church, to be represented to presbitrie."

The session and Lord Kincardine (son and successor of Alexander, second Earl) have a dispute in

reference to the appointment of a beadle, and the inconvenient proximity to the church of some trees, between it and his lordship's residence of Culross Abbey, immediately adjoining:—

"13 *August* 1695.

"My Lord Kincairn to be spoken to by the minister not to countenance Thomas Rowan in his unwarrantable intruding of himself to make graves, not onlie without but contrarie to the session's order, with certification that he will be proceeded against by the session in case he, the said Rowan, continue in such disorderlie practises; as likewaies, in respect that certain trees was planted neare the kirk, and in rain did drop thereon and thereby skaith the church, that his lordship wold either transplant the said trees to some other place, or cause cut them down; and the minister to report against next session my lord's answer," &c.

"3 *Septr.* 1695.

"The minister intrusted to speak to my Lord Kinkairn, did report my lord's answer as follows: 'That he was not willing to incroach upon the session's due, but only desired the session that for a time Rowan, till he was settled, might be suffered to make the graves till New Years mess or Candlemess; but that he could not condescend to remove the trees out of the place they were in.' The session, not willing to be heard with my lord, and for peace sake, did resolve till the said tyme to conive with Rowan's making of the graves, and to speak no further of the trees."

Mr Young's illicit ministrations are again discussed:

"3 *December* 1695.

"Mr Young, late incumbent heere, complaind of for preaching and baptizing publicklie, and alienating the hearts of poore simple people from the Gospell, and taking di-

visive courses, in contempt of all authoritie; referred to the presbitrie."

"4 *February* 1696.

"James Blaw, supplicating for a testimonial to beg out of the paroshin, in respect he said he could not get a livelihood here, was refused, but committed him to the charitie of good people in the paroshin, and especially to his friends and relations."

The following entry gives a curious idea of the condition of churches in those days, when pigeons were allowed to have their nests in the inside roof of the church, and probably fly about during the service :—

"5 *May* 1696.

"The which day Bagownie desiring that his open seat, being incommodat through dows' dung and stones falling upon these in the seat, it might have a covering; the session, finding the same inconvenient and prejudiciall to all behind him, which are a great manie, did for his convenience grant him that they should, out of the church treasurie, stop these places where the pigeons were wont to build, and whence he was discommoded.

"Those that did not keep the church and profane the Sabbath, to be the next day admonished from the pulpit to walk more christianlie, otherwaies their names to be read publictlie."

"22 *June* 1696.

"The session, considering the great straits that the poor were in through the hard year, did see it fit to distribute another quarter to them before August; and the minister representing the sad condition of severall godlie honest persons, both in the town and in Edinburgh, known to several of the elders present, there was five pounds sterlin given to the minister to distribute as he saw fit."

The closing years of the seventeenth century, like those of the eighteenth, were marked by a succession of bad harvests, and great consequent distress.

On 22d June 1696 a resignation of his charge as minister of Culross was given in by James Fraser of Brea; but notwithstanding this step, he seems to have continued to officiate for a little while subsequent.

"2 *Febr.* 1697.

"John M'Kie, a carrier, having lost an horse, the means of his livelihood, and representing his case for relieff to the session, they appointed, in consideration that he was a vertuous frugall person, that a collection publict should be made for him, and intimat next Sabath day."

"4 *May* 1697.

"Complaint being made of severall profaning of the Sabbath by repairing to a well in time of sermon; ordered that the samin be spoken of from the pulpit the next day, the evill of it holden forth, and the guiltie warned to forbear, and to wait on the ordinance, under pain of censure."

A contribution is ordered through the parish on behalf of the church clock:—

"29 *June* 1697.

"The knock takin down and sent to a knock-maker in Airth, who hath condescended to help it, and put another hand to it on the south side of the steeple, and amounting to a considerable sum; it was ordered that this be intimated the next Lord's Day to all in the paroshin, and a contribution voluntar for that effect to be required, and creditable be most persons to go to the particular houses and take and collect what everie one shall be pleased to give; and in respect of the unseasonableness of this tyme of year, it

being a bare tyme wherein little money is going, that the persons contributers do give what they like presently, and what farther they wold give at Michaelmas and Martinmas, which shall be noted each man his parte."

"7 *Decr.* 1697.

"Mr Thomas Mophet, schoolmaster, gave in a complaint to the session against Jo. Allen, George Halliday, Robt. Baid, James Baid, Jo. Drysdale, Alexr. Drysdale, Alexr. Rowan, did violentlie break into the Quire, and that they did violentlie abuse the scholars and beat them, and have broken the dore of the Quire: The session ordered that the masters and parents of the said boyes should be warned to the session, and give an account of the said scandalous riot; and recommended to the magistrats to take in the premises course as they should judge convenient."

As already observed, the so-called Quire was situated at the east end of the church, in the position occupied by the chancel in English parish churches. Being railed off from the body of the church, it had been assigned to the scholars, who in those days attended church every Sunday under the supervision of their master.

A thanksgiving is ordered for the Peace of Ryswick and a sufficient harvest. The Church guards with great jealousy its doctrine of spiritual independence, and proclaims the thanksgiving as ordered by her own authority, though it had been already promulgated by command of the Privy Council. The Scottish Church has always resisted strenuously the theory of the Sovereign being the Head of the Church; and to this day the Royal Commissioner to the General Assembly is supposed to sit there under

protest, and is not allowed to take any part in the deliberations.

Mr George Mair was finally appointed to the second charge in 1698. The following entry, among others, shows the mode of election, which between the Revolution and 1712 was vested in the heritors and kirk-sessions of parishes :—

"12 *April* 1698.

"The which day the session, taking to consideration their want of one minister to be colleague, and that their settled minister is obliged to be for some time to be north, did fall a-speaking of Mr Geo. Mair to be ordained for that effect; with which the session was unanimouslie weell satisfied, and that intimation should next Lord's Day be made from pulpit to heritors, elders, and magistrats, and all concerned, to meet and consider of that affair."

The following exhibits a melancholy picture of the distressed condition to which the family of Mr Young, incumbent of the second charge before the Revolution, had been reduced :—

"Mr Young, late curat at this place, his wife seeking some supply from the session, is denyed the same, because she did not adjoin herself to our communion by attending the public ordinances; and this notwithstanding she had ofter then once got something from the session before."

Here is a case of mill-going on Sunday. Shiresmill, the scene of the desecration, is a hamlet situated partly in the parish of Culross, partly in that of Torryburn, where a small rill separates the counties of Fife and Perth. From the last circumstance the name is derived as being the place that *shears* or

divides—in no sense as being the mill of the *shire*. Though containing only a few houses, it is a place of very ancient standing, and gave birth in the early part of the sixteenth century to Robert Pont or Kylpont, who took a considerable share in promoting the Reformation. He studied at St Leonard's College, St Andrews, and afterwards at a foreign university. Having joined the Reformers on his return from the Continent, he was present as commissioner from St Andrews at the meeting of the first General Assembly in December 1560, and after officiating in St Andrews as a clergyman for nearly two years, he was in 1562 appointed as the first Protestant minister of the Church of Dunblane.

"24 *January* 1699.

"David Philip, mouterer, of Shyres milne, ordered to be cited to the next session for grinding on the Sabbath day, and Jo. Weir and Jo. Wardlaw as witnesses."

"21 *February* 1699.

"Thomas Philip and Patrick Jack compearing, and being deseired to confess if they had their milne going on the Sabbath day, went about to cover it, denying that at any time, to their knowledge, their mill was sett on before the Sabbath was over, but would not fully deny the going of their mill sometimes on Sabbath dayes mornings, pretending necessity for it.

"John Wardlaw declares he heard the mill going two several Sabbaths betwixt eight and nine at night, and that it is commonly said that within this month the milne was going on Sabbath days morning when it was afoir daylight, and that he knows them ordinarly to enter before ten.

"The session, taking to their consideration the haynousness of their guilt, with several aggravations thereof, having

called them in, they were sharply rebuked, and cited *apud acta* to appear before the congregation the next Sabbath, in the ordinary place, to receave a more public rebuke therefor."

"28 *February* 1699.

"According to the Act of the last session, the millers of the Shyres mill, Thomas Philip, David Philip, and Patrick Jack, were rebuked on the Sabbath, before the congregation after forenoon's service."

"20 *March* 1699.

"It is appoynted that a letter be written to Brae shewing the earnest desire of the sessione and people for his return, and Baillie Adam ordered to write it."

There is some obscurity about the proceedings of Mr Fraser of Brea and his relations to Culross. He resigns his charge on 22d June 1696 :—

"Taking to consideration the great charge of this parish and kirk of Culross, and my great inabilitie to do that dewtie to them a minister owes to his flock, partlie through my age, partlie through my manie avocations and diversions, and constraned passing some tyme in the north, and in Edinburgh and other places, and multitude of persons coming to me for advise and other waies, so that I cannot get that dewtie performed to the parish that were needful and I myself very desirous of: Wherefore, and for other grievances and discouragements, and that the place may be the better supplied, I do demit my office and charge of the ministrie in this place, hereby giving those concerned full leave to move to the Presbetrie to get the kirk declared vacant, and to proceed to the calling of another minister to this place, and to settle him here dewlie."

The session refuses to accept Mr Fraser's resignation, which, however, is given in and registered. He

continued to act as minister of Culross with Mr John Blair, who had recently been appointed as his helper temporarily till a colleague or second minister could be legally established in the parish. From the Revolution, when Mr Fraser was appointed—on the deposition of Mr Wright and Mr Young—up to 1698, when Mr Mair was elected, as already detailed, to the ministry of the second charge, the latter remained vacant, and its revenues seem to have been drawn by Mr Fraser, as minister of the first.

Of this date—18th September 1698—we find "an account of seven pounds Scots given in, distributed to the randie beggars."[1]

Mr Fraser had from time to time been sent on missions to the north of Scotland to look after the condition of the Church there; and in 1696 he received a call from Inverness, to which he might probably have ultimately acceded, but before a settlement could be effected he died at Edinburgh on September 1699, in his sixty-first year. He was twice married, and by his first marriage left one daughter—Jean—who married Hugh Rose of Kilravock. The first charge of Culross remained vacant from Mr Fraser's death till 1708, when Mr James Cuthbert was appointed. Meantime the whole duty of the parish seems to have been done by Mr Mair.

[1] This generally means strolling or vagabond beggars, but on this occasion the expression is probably to be understood as denoting stranger or casual poor. The distress through the country from scarcity was then so great, that multitudes would be wandering from place to place in quest of food, and the ordinary disfavour attaching to "gangrel bodies" and "randie beggars" would be for a while in abeyance.

It would appear that various payments had been made to the deposed Episcopal incumbents, Mr Wright and Mr Young. The former of these died at Edinburgh in 1721; and we are informed that his wife was Katherine Edmonstone—a daughter, probably, of the minister of that name. Mr Young and his family, as we have seen, had made several applications to the kirk-session for assistance, and his wife latterly had rather churlishly been refused, on the ground of her not attending the ordinances of the Church. Doubtless these "curates," continuing to reside and occasionally officiate in the parish, occasioned a great deal of trouble; whilst many of their old hearers attended their ministrations in preference to the parish church, and received from them the ordinance of baptism for their children. It is probable that they were much less stringent than their Presbyterian rivals in matters of discipline.

Various cases of Sabbath desecration are thus recorded:—

"2 *May* 1699.

"Robert Dalgleish, younger, being cited, and compearing, was sharply rebuked for his insolent carriage when reprehended by the minister for standing on the Parlie hill with others after sermon; and upon his confession and promise of amendment, was dismissed."

"6 *June* 1699.

"Elspet Liddel, being cited for staying at home in time of divine service upon the Lord's Day, and being called upon, compeared, and was convict of her guilt, having no other pretence but that her dore wanted a lock, which obliged some of them always to stay at home one of the dyets, whereupon she was not only admonished, but also sharply

rebuked, her excuse being rejected, and she certified that if she should be found in the like again, she should be convened before the congregation."

"2 *August* 1699.

"Elspet Liddel, delated for buying of harring fro John Belfrage, and selling again upon the Sabbath day, both he and she are ordered to be cited against the next session, together with Christ. Paton, a witness, and any other witness that may be found."

"8 *August* 1699.

"Elspet Liddel compearing, seemed to be convinced of her fault in selling of harron on the Sabbath day; and upon her promise of amendment, was dismissed."

"15 *August* 1699.

"Gilbert Young, a boy, being cited for breaking of yeards on the Sabbath, compeared, and was dealt with and sharply rebuked for sundry faults, which he could not denay, and was referred to the civil magistrates for causing whip him. His mother compeared, and denayed any accession thereto, which could not be proven; so she was only dealt with to be at pains for her childe's correction and instruction," &c.

"9 *April* 1700.

"Ordered to be cited to the next session, Wm. Watsone, for staying at home ordinarly on the Sabbath, and contempt of Gospel ordinances, together with Agnes Horn, Marion Craich, and Jannet Ronnald for the like fault, particularly last Sabbath. The minister appointed to intimate the next Lords' Day, that whosoever, getting charity from the session, does not observe the ordinances, and shall not from henceforth amend, shall have their name put out of the poors-roll, and shall receive no allowance that way, either weekly or quarterly."

"7 *May* 1700.

"Report being made of some children and youths going on Sabbath morning to a well in Castlehill meadow, and

profaning the Sabbath by ane unsuiteable carriage, it is ordered that ther shall be a general reproof hereof from the pulpit on the next Sabbath, with certification that if ther be not amendment therein, there shall be a procedure against them by Church censures, and that the parents shall be made answerable for their children, and masters for their servants; and the like with respect to any other such abuse by gathering together in crowds, bearing of water, or the like."

This resorting of young men and maidens to a well in the "merry month of May," taken in connection with a similar reproof administered three years previously at the same season, seems to indicate some festivity or May game which had come down from the old Roman Catholic times. The dressing and decorating of wells in commemoration of the patron saint who was supposed to preside over them, survives still as a popular pastime in some places in England. The well above referred to seems to be that known as "Arns Well," near Dunimarle.

Here is a gift of a peculiar kind to the session:—

"9 *July* 1700.

"The moderator reported that my Lord Blairhall sent him a decreet, by which he fyned in his Barron Court Rot. Clerk, in Bargatie, in thretie pounds Scots, that the same might be given by him to the session for the use of the poor; for which the session desired him in their name to give thanks to my lord."

The Lord Blairhall here referred to was the Hon. Dougal Stewart, brother of James, first Earl of Bute,

who had married Mary Bruce, the heiress of Blairhall, and in virtue of his right thereby acquired, assumed a title from the estate on being raised to the rank of a Lord of Session. The property was sold by his grandson.

A double charge of Sabbath-breaking and slander is here recorded :—

"20 *August* 1700.

"Elizabeth Donald having been charged with breach of Sabbath, and using a nickname against one, was cited, and appearing, was rebuked for anything therof could be made appear; and having confessed her fault and promised amendment, and to go and crave pardon of the woman she had nicknamed, was dismissed, with ane exhortation to pray, and walk more warily."

A "Forbes Mackenzie" Act of the ecclesiastical authorities in 1702 follows :—

"Upon the occasion of the former complaints anent the unseasonable and unseemly drinking of some in taverns, and the taverners their selling ale to them, the session thought meet to enact, and hereby do enact, that whosoever shall be found without a clear and manifest necessity to be drinking in taverns, or to be selling ale to persons in their houses after 10 of the clock at night on Saturday, or on any time of the Sabbath, shall be proceeded against with the censures; and this to be intimat from the pulpit the first Lord's Day after the forenoon sermon."

The Presbytery and kirk-session take in hand the restraining of excesses at marriages, "whether penny brydals or free" :—

"29 *Feb.* 1704.

"Anent the Act of the Presbyterie, insert here the last session day, in reference to pennie weddings, and for

rendering the same the more effectual within this parish, the session agrees and resolves—1st, That no elder of this session shall countenance any such wedding as is there prohibited, or pipeing and danceing, especially promiscuously, at any wedding whatsomever, under the pain of suspension from their eldership for the first fault, and more high censures afterwards in case of continuance therein, or being more frequently guilty thereof. 2d, That every elder of the session shall be obliged to delate whatever transgressions of the said Act within their respective quarters, and for that end to use suitable means for his information thereanent, under the pain of sharp censure. 3d, That every person to be married shall, before his or her publick proclamation in order thereto, be obliged to give up their names before at least two or three members of the session, whereof one is to be a magistrate, and either consign or pawn or pledge, as the said magistrate shall think fitt to appoint, which is allways understood to be a suitable one, or else have a cautioner to engage, under the pain of a competent penalty in case of transgression of the said Act; which pawn or penalty, in the said case of transgression, is to be forfaulted by the said persons for the use of the poor. 4th, That by and attour this, the person or persons guilty shall be sharply prosecuted with Church censures."

The chalices or sacramental cups belonging to Culross are lent to Saline, to be used at an approaching Communion :—

"1 *August* 1704.

"The session allows the giving in loan their four Communion cups to Saline, upon sufficient security given for their restoration, with some small recompence for the use of the poor, which security was given by one of their most responsal elders."

The four silver cups above mentioned are still the property of Culross church. Two of them, as the

inscription bears, "were provided out of the session funds;" and the other two were presented by Alexander, second Earl of Kincardine.

In further reference to the above occasion, we find of same date :—

"The minister recommended it to the elders present to be taking notice of and visiting their several quarters, and particularly to be doing what they can that way this week, and to be enquiring anent who have thoughts of communicating at Saline the next Sabbath, and stirring up every one seriously to what they see to be their duty, who all promised compliance therewith."

The extract here quoted affords evidence of the practice of communicating in other parishes besides that to which the individuals belonged. It becomes intelligible in this way how the Communion might sometimes cease for years to be celebrated in a particular church, and yet the ordinance be enjoyed by the inhabitants of the parish. Here is another entry to the same effect :—

"5 *August* 1707.

"This dyet was mostly spent in distributing tokens to persons who are to communicate next Sabbath at Torrieburn."

The number of communicants actually belonging to the church of Culross was, in May 1706, 252, as stated in a list at commencement of session-book. This is about the same number as at the present day. But an entry of 8th August 1708 gives some important information as to stranger communicants.

It states, in reference to the Communion celebrated at Culross on that day—"The number of communicants would have been about six hundred, whereof near to 300 of this parish, and the rest out of 19 or 20 different parochs."

It may be as well that I should say something here of those Sacramental occasions which formed in bygone days so peculiar a phase of Scottish country life. At one time they may have been characterised by great fervour and earnestness of devotion; but latterly they degenerated into very unseemly scenes, such as Burns has depicted so graphically in his "Holy Fair." They came, indeed, to be regarded as a sort of Sunday outings or picnics, and were, as far as many of the attenders were concerned, no more religious or spiritual in their character than an ordinary wake or fair. The story is often repeated in this part of the country, and seems to be quite authentic, that on the occasion of servants engaging themselves with a new master or mistress, it was quite common for them to stipulate that they should have leave granted them to attend either Torryburn Fair *or* Carnock Sacrament.

Both of these parishes *march*, in Scottish phrase, with Culross; and to this day Torryburn Fair, with its horse-races and its other attractions, has by no means yet lost its celebrity. But the Sacramental occasion at Carnock—or, as it used to be rather irreverently termed, "Carnock Fair"—has long been only a reminiscence of the past. I have already referred to John Row as the probable originator of

the reputation which the Carnock Communions in after-days enjoyed—though at one time they were far eclipsed, in point of numbers attending them, by Culross. The ministers of Carnock—and more especially the last incumbent—under whose auspices these assemblies were held, used to consider their credit involved in collecting on such occasions the most popular preachers in the district.

As the parish church would have been far too small to accommodate all the persons who flocked hither from different parts of the country, the sacred edifice itself was reserved for the partakers of the Holy Communion, which was administered in a succession of services or *tables*, numbering frequently as many as five or six, and each protracted to a considerable length. The multitude, or οἱ πολλοι, consisting both of communicants and non-communicants, were assembled in the open air, either in the churchyard or in some open space adjoining; and there a succession of religious services or *preachings* was conducted in turn by various ministers, who delivered their discourses from a species of covered pulpit—or *tent*, as it was generally called. The audience behaved for the most part in a sufficiently decorous manner as long as they were present at the services; but they might withdraw themselves whenever they pleased, and, as Burns says, "gie the jars and barrels a lift that day." And the after-scenes in the public-houses and streets, as also on the roads in home-going, were frequently extremely unseemly. The "wabster lads" from Dunfermline, as well as the "tag-rag and bobtail"

from all quarters, resorted to Carnock for a day's amusement; and the Communion occasion there was a great annual scandal. The suppression of these discreditable scenes was at last effected by the Rev. William Gilston, on his appointment to the ministry of the parish in 1827. On his representation the heritors readily concurred with him in the abolition of the tent or open-air services at the celebration of the Sacrament. The occasion, in consequence, lost its attractions for holiday-seekers, and a great and lasting improvement was the result. It was not at first, however, as might have been expected, generally appreciated; and perhaps the greatest testimony to its reality was borne by a Carnock matron, who expressed herself on the subject thus: "New folks mak new fashions. There's my freend Mrs ——" (naming the landlady of the public-house) "used to tak often five pounds at the time o' the Sacrament, and I dinna believe that yesterday she got half-a-croon!"

Carnock was one of the last places in this district where the old fashion of the tent-preaching was kept up on the occasion of the celebration of the Sacrament by ministers of the Established Church. It was maintained for a while longer by one or two of the Dissenting communities, more especially by the Secession church at Inverkeithing; but they, too, were ere long forced to acquiesce in the necessity of its abandonment. Viewed merely in a conservative point of view as a relic of the past, there can be no doubt of these gatherings having been often, with their

surroundings, very interesting. At Carnock the tent was erected in the picturesque little valley below the village bridge, where the ground slopes down from the church to Carnock Burn, and the audience reclined or seated themselves on the grassy banks.[1] Mr Gilston, the worthy clergyman above mentioned, who has recently departed at an advanced age, informed me, that during his youth he was once present at a Sacramental occasion of the Cameronians held on the bank of the Water of Urr in Galloway. The whole service, including the Communion rites, was conducted in the open air. But the prolixity then practised was so great, that though the service had begun at ten o'clock, it was half-past two in the afternoon before the officiating minister had finished the ceremony of "fencing the tables,"[2] preparatory to the celebration of the Communion. On this occasion, indeed, it was simultaneous, the circumstance of its taking place in the open air obviating the necessity of a succession of services. These were protracted sometimes in the churches to an incredible length. And as there was always an evening sermon after all the services were concluded, it occasionally happened that the Sunday itself was not sufficient for the accomplishment of all the celebration. A

[1] It is an interesting circumstance for myself that my father, then a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, delivered his *first* sermon at the *last* tent-preaching at Carnock in 1826.

[2] That is to say, debarring unworthy applicants from coming forward. It was frequently of a very appalling character; and if it effectually deterred the bad, it was unfortunately often equally efficacious in preventing the approach of timid or humble Christians.

relative informs me that she has conversed with an aged woman who remembered being detained in the Abbey Church of Dunfermline till one o'clock on Monday morning, at a Sacramental occasion during the ministry of Ralph Erskine. She disclaimed, however, having experienced any sensation of weariness in listening to Mr Erskine discourse on the "Attributes," which was long after remembered in Dunfermline as the "kail-pat sermon," from the circumstance of the delay on that eventful evening having spoilt the Sabbath-night's supper.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE BURGH RECORDS FROM 1698 TO 1715.

THE burgh records of Culross do not, from the end of the seventeenth century downwards, present much interesting matter to the general reader—though there is no lack of this for a native of the parish, or one well acquainted with the localities. The feuing out of the town moor, the litigations in connection with it with the Black Colonel and others, and the disputes with the Laird of Blairhall in regard to the New Mills, form the subject of a large portion of the entries, and are a curious enough study for a resident in the place, but would certainly be "caviare to the general." Following out the rule I have hitherto adopted, I shall restrict myself for the most part to such quotations as are of general interest and tend to explain or throw a light on ancient Scottish manners and customs.

In the times under consideration, the Established Church was regarded as an integral and essential part of the constitution, as much to be reverenced and cared for by the civil power as the throne itself

or the Parliament. The idea of a State Church being an injustice, or that it was not the necessary duty of a magistracy to give it countenance and support both on Sundays and week-days, would have been something absolutely incomprehensible to our forefathers. Here do we find the magistrates of Culross taking care that the physical wants of their spiritual coadjutors shall be properly supplied:—

"26 *August* 1698.

"The same day the magistratts and toune councill being convened, and being declared and represented to the toune councill thatt Mr George Mair is, upon Wednesday next, to be placed in the church of Culross, minister of the Gospel conjunct with Brae,[1] and for that effect the presbitrie is to be here present; and the magistrats and toune councill, taking to ther consideration, and found it necessare that ane dinner be provyditt against thatt day, therfor be pluralitie of voices hes ordered the dinner be mead readie in John Measone's hous."

Of this date—29th May 1699—we find an order regarding "quartering,"—an institution still maintained, and doubtless very vexatious, but free from the terrorism that had been its general concomitant in the days of Charles and James. In subsequent times the quartering of soldiers was regarded by certain towns—at least by certain traders within them—as rather conducive than otherwise to their interests. It is recorded of a provost of Linlithgow in bygone days, who exercised the profession of a brewer, that as a reward for his exertions in forwarding the cause of

[1] The territorial designation of the Rev. Mr Fraser of Brea, appointed, at the Revolution, minister of the first charge of Culross.

the political party in power, he received a guarantee that the town would never want a company of soldiers to drink his liquor and fill his pockets. It must be said that the presence of such guests was frequently most unfavourable to the morals of the places in which they were stationed.

In the order in May 1701 for riding the burgh marches the magistrates direct, in addition, "proclamation to be mead for a horse-race that day for a saidle at 10s. sterling, and everie horse that is to ryd to be noe more of valew but £50 Scotts."[1] This must have been the price of the more ordinary sort of horses two hundred years ago.

A censor of public morals is appointed :—

"22 *December* 1701.

"The quhilk day, anent the choyes of a baillie for censuring of immoralities, according to the Shirreff of Perth appointment by his letter sent to the minister, he being impowered by authoritie for that effect, they have chosen Baillie Gray; and he has chosen for his councill the other two baillies, the Den of Gild, the theasorer, William Adam, younger, and William Drysdeall."

Notwithstanding the "boycotting" agreed to be exercised by the burgesses of Culross against the proprietor and inhabitants of Valleyfield, in retaliation of the rival burgh of barony set up by the latter, the townsfolk seem not only to have procured their coals from that quarter, but likewise to have availed themselves of clandestine and surreptitious modes of obtaining a supply of the commodity. Of

[1] £4, 3s. 4d. sterling.

this we have already had evidence. Several minutes of council in 1702 record

"A bargone which was cowmoned betwixt Colonel John Erskine of Carriden, William Robertson of Gladnay, taxmen of the coall works of Valyfield, and the magistrates of this burgh, anent the satelling and establishing of the pryce of the kartt and missure of great coall which comes from the coall hill of Valyfield to the burgh, and for furnishing of the same, and that at the pryce of seven shillings Scots[1] the kart, as the pryce of former payments mead betwixt this toune and the awners of these works—upon this condition, that the burgesses and other inhabitants of this burgh be restricted, bound, and obleidged that they recept nor buy any stolline coalls from the coall bearers or coal hewares in Valyfield, in recepting of burdens at any tyme aither night or day."

The proviso is added—

"And in the mayne tyme, if the seven shilling cannot be adheared to nor condeshended upon, with power to the magistrates to add or condeshend upon a babie[2] or eight penyes[3] more the load."

Mr Robertson stands out for "seven shilling and a baby the kairt;" and notwithstanding the bailies used "all ther indevoures" to obtain the old rate of 7s., we are informed that they "yett could not prevail with him. The town council now adheares to the od baby, since they can do no better." On these terms the bargain, as originally proposed, is concluded. Seven shillings and eightpence Scots, or 7½d. sterling, seems certainly a moderate price for a

[1] Sevenpence sterling.

[2] Bawbee or halfpenny.

[3] Scots.

cart of coals, taking even the then and present values of money into consideration. It could not be procured now at the pit-head under 4s. for the most n ferior description of coal.

Races seem to be becoming an annual institution at Culross. Here is the magisterial order :—

"29 *June* 1702.

"The same day the magistrates and toun councill, being convened, hes now appointed ane horse-race to be riddine in the common mure of the burgh upon Wednesday, the third Wednesday of July next, in the fornoon; and a futt-race in the efternooon within the toun, from Castelhill march to James Archibald's door, and from thence bak to the troune: the horse-race for a saidle, and the futt-race for a paire shoes and pair stockings."

As regards the limits within which the foot-race is to be run, "Castelhill march" is the western boundary of the burgh, at the point where the Dean Burn joins the sea; the "troune," or tron, is on the Sand Haven, in front of the town-house; but where "John Archibald's door" was, I have no means of determining. Down to a comparatively recent period, there used to be a horse-race along the road in front of St Mungo's, from the foot of the Newgate to the western extremity of Low Valleyfield.

In the following entry we see the first commencement of the movement for the union of the kingdoms, which was finally consummated in 1707. Queen Anne had now ascended the throne, William III. having died in the preceding month of March :—

"12 *October* 1702.

"The quhilk day the magistrates and toun councill being convened in order to the tounes affairs, and being produced and red in councill ane missive letter direct from the Provost of Edinburgh to this place, requyring us to send one commissioner sufficiently instructed, in order to the union betwixt the two kingdoms, in manner as is contained in the said letter, as the samyne, of the deatt at Edinburgh the 29 of September 1702 years, bears: In obedience therto the magistrats and toun councill hes nominatt and appoynted, and hereby nominatts, John Adam, present baillie, to repair to Edinburgh against Fryday next, the 16 day of this instant, and to have his commission and his expenses to be allowed to him."

In October 1704 the yearly election of magistrates and council takes place. At the end of the list of merchant councillors appears, "Andrew Middletoun removed, and Colonel Jo. Erskine in his place." This is the first appearance on the municipal stage of Colonel John Erskine of Carnock, the celebrated Black Colonel, who figures so prominently in the civil and ecclesiastical history of Culross of this period. Though on the whole a good worthy man, his litigious and quarrelsome disposition kept him in hot water almost all his life with the burgh authorities. I shall have occasion to discuss his character more particularly in dealing with the kirk-session records. In 1700 he had purchased at a judicial sale the estates of the Earl of Kincardine, and had thus become the largest landed proprietor in the neighbourhood. The lands attached to Culross Abbey, however, with the mansion itself, he

was obliged to resign, in consequence of a decreet-arbitral, to Lady Mary Bruce or Cochrane, daughter of Alexander, second Earl of Kincardine, and wife of William Cochrane, Esq. of Ochiltree. Lady Mary seems to have been infeft in these on a prior title which held good against Lord Kincardine's creditors. Colonel Erskine was obliged to content himself with the mansion in the Sand Haven of Culross, which formerly had not only been the property but the actual residence of the Kincardine family previous to their removal, after the Restoration, to Culross Abbey. Lady Mary Cochrane, after her brother Alexander's death in 1705 without issue, continued, with her husband and family, to occupy the Abbey, and transmitted it to her descendants the Earls of Dundonald. Colonel Erskine inhabited, at least occasionally, throughout his life the mansion in the Sand Haven which had formerly belonged to the Earls of Kincardine. It would be more correct to say *one* of the mansions, as there are two in the same place, adjoining each other, though quite distinct. In the other lived, as is commonly believed, his kinsman, Colonel John Erskine, known as "Fair Colonel John Erskine," or the "White Colonel." It has been generally asserted, more especially by Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood in his Life of Dr Erskine of the Greyfriars Church, grandson of the Black Colonel, that the White Colonel was the latter's nephew; but this is certainly a mistake. The son of Colonel William Erskine of Torrie, the Black Colonel's brother, was unquestionably a man of fair com-

plexion, and a colonel in the army; but his christian name was William, and he was only born in 1691. Now there is repeated mention in the burgh records, at a period long anterior to the attainment of such a rank by Colonel William Erskine the second of Torrie, of a "Fair Colonel John Erskine," a burgess and inhabitant of Culross, and who is, moreover, spoken of as the son of Sir John, and brother of Sir Charles Erskine of Alva. How he came to settle in Culross we know not, but there he is in the early years of the last century; and a daughter of his, as after mentioned, married Dr Alexander Webster, minister of Culross. In the year 1722 we find the two men, under the very designations of the Black and the White Colonels, assisting as elders at the celebration of the Culross Communion. The age of Colonel William Erskine would have almost precluded him at this time from such an office; and moreover, as Laird of Torrie, his church was in the adjoining parish of Torryburn. The epithets had evidently been adopted to distinguish the two Colonel John Erskines, and were applied and received as proper and respectful titles. Tradition has persistently asserted that the two Colonels lived beside each other in the two adjoining houses within the same court in the Sand Haven, which thenceforward received the appellation of "the Colonels' Close."

The Black Colonel and his brother, the first Colonel William Erskine of Torrie, were the great-grandsons of John, seventh Earl of Mar, son of the

Regent; and Sir John Erskine of Alva stood to the Earl and his father in the same degree of propinquity. His son, therefore, the Fair Colonel John Erskine, or the White Colonel, bore to the Black Colonel, John Erskine of Carnock, the relationship of second cousin once removed, and to the second Colonel William Erskine of Torrie that of third cousin.

Under the date of 22d October 1705, an Act of council orders the town fleshers to keep to their own market at the cross, and not to bring their meat to the "land market," or market for the country fleshers, at the tolbooth. Here we see clearly the origin of the term "lawn," or "land market," as denoting the market for the "land" or country people, as distinguished from the burgesses or townsfolk.

In course of the year 1708 another deadlock occurs, in consequence of the magistrates neglecting or refusing to comply with an Act of the British Parliament requiring all persons holding civic office to take the oath of abjuration. Some feeling of jealousy of being governed by a Parliament sitting in London, with the unpopularity of the recent Union, producing a common bond of sentiment on this subject between Presbyterians and Jacobites, had doubtless brought about this result. Its effect was to disqualify all the magistrates, and thereby leave the town without government and the power of collecting its revenues. The Scottish Parliament was not now at hand to make application to; but a

petition was presented to the Convention of Royal Burghs sitting at Edinburgh; and in consequence of a deliverance obtained from it, a deputation, consisting of commissioners from the burghs of Stirling, Linlithgow, Dunfermline, Inverkeithing, and Queensferry, visited Culross in the month of August, and took the votes of the burgesses in the appointment of three temporary managers "to uplift the common good and cess of the said burgh." On Michaelmas following, the community was convened, and a formal election of magistrates made in the ordinary way.

Under the following date some interesting glimpses of burgh life in ancient times are presented :—

"7 *February* 1709.

"The whilk day, upon a petition given in be John Thomson, officer, representing that there is ten marks payed yearlie be the kirk for ringing the second bell to the kirk, and altho' that James Peack [Peacock], also officer, is at no panes theranent, or in ringing of the tolbuth bell at 5 o'clock in the morning and 8 o'clock at night, and hes the heall dues of the Yule wages payed for the drum without division, and the half of other dues arrysing by the dead bell or other wayes: Therfor craving that they may appoint the ten marks to be paid to him without division; which desyre they find reasonable, and therfor have granted the same, and to commence from Martimes last.

"The whilk day the baillies and toun councill, considering that her Majestie's birthday was upon the sixt instant, which falling out to be the Lord's Day, there could be no solemnity don therupon: Therfor they appoynt a proclamation to be sent throw the toun by the drum, appointing the heall inhabitants to put out and mak luminations in the most

patent windows of their houses looking to the hei streets, against six o'clok this night, under the pane of fyve pounds Scots, to be payed be ilk person failling therin; and ordaynes the church bells and tolbuth bell to ring at 5 o'clock at night, and to continue till 8; and appoints the heall members of town councill to attend the magistrats in the Sands Haven about six o'clok at night, that they may wack through the toun and sie no abuses to be don, under the pane of 40/."

The foregoing order is the result of an afterthought. No idea had apparently been previously entertained of celebrating the Queen's birthday; and the idea having suddenly occurred that such an omission might be construed into want of respect towards "the powers that be," the principle of "better late than never" was acted on, and an order issued for a public demonstration. It is the first order in the burgh minute-books for a general house-illumination. The practice became very common throughout the country in after-times, and was really far more effective than the custom at the present day of illuminating the exterior of special buildings by a dazzling display of blazing devices, whilst the remainder of the street-front presents a dark wall of utter gloom. Those who neglected to obey the magisterial order were threatened, as we see, with the imposition of a fine; but the dread of the mischief of the rabble, who at such times were wont to inflict summary punishment by demolishing the offending windows, would act quite as effectually as a security for obedience.

The order of the day concludes thus: "As also

they appoynt four pounds Scotts to be payed to Alexr. Birnay, wright, for erecting the stang for the scollers in August last in the Sand Haven."

This seems to have been some erection in connection with the ceremonies at the reception of the burgh commissioners when they visited Culross for the election of temporary managers during the magisterial vacancy. The word "stang" means a pole, and this may either have been a Maypole for the amusement of the youngsters, or some triumphal banner around which they were grouped. To "ride the stang" was a species of Lynch law not unfrequently resorted to in the days of our forefathers, and even still not wholly in desuetude when the populace wish to vent their indignation against a brutal husband, or similar object of detestation. He was placed astride on a pole, borne shoulder-high amid jeers and execrations, and not unfrequently deposited at last in a pool of water.

We are next brought in contact with Louis XIV., —his persecutions of his Protestant subjects, and aggressions on the neighbouring States of Germany. Perhaps the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine are here referred to:—

"12 *September* 1709.

"The same day ther being a representation mead from the quarter session of the justices of peace of Pearthshire in August last, of a letter direct to them from the councill chamber at St James', deated the 29 day of June last, anent receaving and subsisting of some German Protestants that had fled to this kingdom for refuge from the great exactions of the French on the frontiers, and being otherwayes dis-

tressed upon the accompt of ther religion: and Baillie Wilsoune being present at that quarter session, he represented ther that he doubted not but that the toun of Culross would receive and entertayne in a direct number in proportion to the toun of Pearth, and conforme to the share in the burrow-tax roll; which the heall councill consent to."

And here is another ordinance against "late wakes," of same date:—

"The quhilk day the magistrates and toun councill doth not onlie ratifie and approve the former Acts of councill discharging all persones whatsomever to goe to and frequent laitt waks, under the panes and penalties therin contayned, excepting sutch persons as is particularlie inveited by the friends of the defunct, and others concerned; butt alsoe, efter the loudable custome of other burghs, particularlie the niboring burgh of Dunfermling, the magistrates and town councill of this burgh doe striklie prohibit and discharge all persones whatsomever who are burgesses and inhabitants of this burgh, to enter into the hous or housses where the corps of any deceissed person is laying, or unto thois convened ther in any truble, of furnishing of them bread, drink, or tabaco, except they be friends and relations to the defunct, and particularlie inveitted therto, each person contravening to be unlawed in the soume of twentie shilling Scots unforgiven; and ordaynes thir presents to be intimatt by oppen proclamation and tuck of drum."

The following is directed against those guilty of blabbing or revealing council secrets. Evidently it was wished to make the corporation a close one. What would these old-world folks have said of the modern practice of admitting reporters to the council meetings?

"6 *September* 1709.

"The qlk day it being represented that many times what is agitat and said in councill is frequently divulged by the councellours, which being a manifest breach of the oath of secrecie, and oft times tends to the prejudice of some other persones: Therefore it is statute and ordained, and hereby acts, statutes, and ordains, that for the first fault they shall be fyned as the magistrates and councill does think fitt, and for the second fault to be turned off and deposed from the councill for that year."

"27 *October* 1709.

"The qlk day Mr Alexr. Bruce and Mr Thomas Bruce, sones to the Earle of Kincardine, Patrik Angus, factor to Sir Peter Halket of Pitferrane, and James Hind, servitor to the said Earle of Kincardine, all admitted burgesses—the first three burgesses and gild brethren, and James Hind burges and freeman."

Sir Alexander Bruce of Broomhall, on the death of Alexander, Earl of Kincardine, in 1705, had succeeded, as already mentioned, in establishing his right to the title as nearest male heir. He had three sons, Robert, Alexander, and Thomas, who all succeeded him in order as Earls of Kincardine.

The town officers are to have new coats:—

"24 *April* 1710.

"The same day the magistrates and toune councill ordain the theasorer to provide and buy a suit of cloathes to each of the touns officers, of the said touns livery, as easy as possible, and to cause have them ready against Whitsunday next, in respect the coats they have at present are very bare, being three years old or thereby."

"22 *June* 1710.

"As also the councill recommended to the theasorer to

provide a piece of strong plaiding cloath, and cause dy the same in the touns livery, to be a coat to the toune piper, like the former."

"28 *August* 1710.

"The said day Laurence Johnstoune, gardner in Castlehill, compeared, and represented that he was maryed to ane burges and gild brother's daughter, and craved to be admitt burges, and have such benefite as is due therby; which being considered by the councill, and that each bailly hath power to admitt one burges each year gratis, Baillie Moutray declared that he was content the said Laurence should be received as his burges. And therefore the magistrates and councill admitted and received him burges gratis of the said burgh, who gave him burges oath as use is, and thereupon took instruments."

The above entry is locally interesting, as the first notice of a family which afterwards rose to great wealth and distinction, and is now one of the principal county families in this district. Laurence Johnston, here designated as a gardener at Castlehill, or what is now known as Dunimarle, after being admitted as a burgess of Culross, removed thither, where he entered on the business of a maltman. He was so successful, that about the year 1730 we find him the proprietor of the estate of Middle Grange, which still remains in his family. His son James, who is designated as a merchant in Culross, must have early shown some ability, as we find an objection taken to his being admitted as a town councillor, on the ground of his being under age. He became subsequently the owner of Sands, in the parish of Tulliallan—from which his descend-

ants now take their territorial designation—had a large family, and died at an advanced age. His elder sons died prematurely, and one of the younger sons, Laurence, who entered the army, succeeded him in his estates, and married Miss Wellwood of Garvock, whose paternal grandmother was a sister of Sir Robert Preston of Valleyfield. The present proprietor of Sands, Laurence Johnston, Esq., is the grandson of Captain Laurence Johnston just mentioned, and great-great-grandson of the Laurence Johnston referred to in the council entry above quoted. Through his ancestress, Mrs Wellwood of Garvock, who was the granddaughter of William Cochrane of Ochiltree and Lady Mary Bruce, he is lineally descended from Alexander, second Earl of Kincardine, who, again, was the grandson of the celebrated Sir George Bruce of Carnock. It may be noted that the three principal heritors in the parish of Culross—John J. Dalgleish, Esq. of West Grange, Laurence Johnston, Esq. of Sands, and Robert Clark Preston, Esq. of Valleyfield—are all descended from a common ancestress, Mrs Wellwood of Garvock, and through her from Lady Mary Cochrane and her father, Earl Alexander. A fourth heritor, the Hon. Robert Preston Bruce, brother of the Earl of Elgin and proprietor of the Culross Abbey and Blairhall estates, is lineally descended from Sir Alexander Bruce of Broomhall, grandson of the great Sir George Bruce, in whose descendants, therefore, the huge estates which he had amassed by his commercial abilities and industry are for the most part still

vested, though after several revolutions. In further reference to the Sands estate, it may not be uninteresting to remark that the adjoining property of Tulliallan, at present belonging to Lady W. G. Osborne Elphinston, will ultimately vest in the noble house of Lansdowne, whose founder, the celebrated Sir William Petty, took, like the Johnston family, his rise from modest beginnings, his father having been a small tradesman in the town of Romsey in Hampshire.

Here is an order fixing a councillor's daily allowance for maintenance when absent on business connected with the burgh. Twentypence sterling per day seems a moderate enough allowance even for those times, but the finances of Culross were not flourishing :—

"8 *Octr.* 1711.

"The same day the councill, considering the circumstances and condition of the burgh, hereby enact and appoynt that whoever hereafter shall be imployed to goe to Edinburgh or elsewhere about the town business and affairs, they shall only have for their expenses twenty shillings Scots *per diem* allowed to them, with their horse-hyre, and their extraordinar charges also to be allowed attour the said twenty shilling, conforme to former Acts of councill."

In the two following entries the first gives some idea of the price of butcher-meat in 1710, and the second shows a prosecution for an alleged act of purchase within the burgh so as to diminish the supply of the market :—

"12 *Octr.* 1710.

"Dect. Robert Dalgleish, elder, flesher, against Mr Harry Bruce, of Comrie, for twelve pound, as the price of a carcase of beef, received about two years ago; twenty shillings, the pryce of a quarter of ane leg of beef, upwards of two years; and ten shilling, the pryce of a leg mutton, about two months ago; —extending in heall to thirteen pound ten shilling Scottis."

From the above we learn that the price of the whole carcass of an ox, after two years' credit given, amounted then only to £12 Scots, or £1 sterling; whilst that of a quarter-leg of beef was £1 Scots or twentypence sterling, and a leg of mutton, at cash price, was only 10s. Scots, or 10d. sterling. The contrast between the last charge alone and what obtains at the present day is sufficiently startling.

"13 *Octr.* 1710.

"The fiscall against Alexr. Henry, mealman, for alleadged buying a bag of meal at the Petty Common or St Mungo's, comeing to the town above ane fortnight agoe. The said Alexander positively denied any such buying of meall by the way; neither had he any meal in his house for sale, save the meal which he bought from the girnells[1] of Craigflower. The baillie delays to proceed farder in the matter until farder inquirie be made in the matter and represented."

On 14th June 1711 a curious prosecution is instituted before the bailies, of a number of Culross housewives (twenty-nine in all) as "bleachers of cloath with lyme." It was probably taken in the public interest, from the well-grounded belief that

[1] Granaries.

the use of such a substance damaged the fabric and was a fraud on purchasers. Bleaching-powders and chlorides were unknown in those days, but lime served to some extent the same purpose. The procedure seems to have been a little inquisitorial, as the accused parties were personally and directly interrogated. Most, however, refused to appear or answer, and were each fined £5 Scots, on the alternate grounds of contumacy or being held confessed. The others were absolved, and it is very questionable whether any penalty was ever enforced.

The marches are ridden with great *éclat* this year :—

"14 *May* 1713.

"Which day the councill being mett annent the toun's affairs, there was an flag for an standart produced, which was given by way of complement, together with an large peace of plate money as the head of the standart, by Lady Mary Cochrane, which flag contains the armes of the Earle of Kincardine deceased. This complement, by unanimous voice of councill, ordained to be recorded, together with an stand of colours also gifted by Lady Mary, and two plumash feather given by Sir George Preston.

"The said day the magistrates and councill appoints the said standart and also the toun's colours both to be caryed at ryding the martches Whitsunmunday next—the standart to be carryed by the treasurer, and the colours by William Paton, wright, both carryed by plurality of votes. It is hereby condeshended in councill that the trades cary the standart Whitsunmunday Jayvii$^{cm.}$ [1] and fourteen years,

[1] This is one of those abbreviations or contractions which our ancestors were so fond of using, with the view of economising labour and space, but which to their descendants are a *bête noire*, from the trouble and error that they often occasion. The contraction in ques-

and soe the merchants and trades year about in all time coming."

A great man has announced his intention of honouring Culross with a visit. The Marquis of Atholl, who figures prominently as a Scottish statesman in the period subsequent to the Revolution, had been raised to the dukedom in 1703. Sir Walter Scott introduces him in the 'Bride of Lammermoor' as the Marquis of A——, a nobleman of Jacobite tendencies. He had a connection with Culross as Lord Lieutenant of Perthshire:—

"10 *July* 1713.

"Which day the magistrates and councill, considering that his Grace the Duke of Atholl is to-morrow to come and pay his respects to the burgh, they think it fit, and doe recommend it to the magistrates and councill, to attend his Grace, and invite him to the councill-house, and there to give his Grace and attendants the compliments of the burgh; and recommend it to the saids magistrates to order the inhabitants to be ready with their best armes and abuliements, and also recommend to the magistrates to cause and order the bells to be rung."

tion is a more special absurdity from its originating in a misapprehension. The first three letters "Jai" or "Jay" are simply a perversion of *mille*, or its contraction m^{e}—Roman M (one thousand)—whilst the remainder expresses, by the aid of the Roman numerals VII. and C, or *cm* (for *centum* or a *hundred*), the number of subsequent centuries,—the whole denoting in the present instance 1700. This preposterous mode of expressing the centurial year was in common use till about the middle of the last century, and is of very frequent occurrence in Scottish legal documents of the reigns of Queen Anne and the two first Georges. It seems to have been introduced about the period of the revival of letters, and is not to be found in writings of a remote antiquity.

The town piper has turned out a black sheep, and is deprived of office :—

"4 *Decr.* 1713.

"The said day the magistrates and councill, considering the misbehaviour of Donald Mackenzie, their town piper, and that he is already found, by sentence of the magistrates of yesterday's date, that he has been found guilty of breaking the Sabbath-day, and of haunting vagabounds' company: Therefore they unanimously deprive him of his office as town piper, and declare him incapable of enjoying any office within burgh in time coming; and likeways they banish him out of the burgh and territory thereof, and discharge him ever to be present in the same in tyme coming, under the pain of being imprisoned in the eirnhouse[1] during the magistrates and councill their pleasure, and being scourged out of the town."

The country appears to be in a disturbed state, possibly in anticipation of Queen Anne's death and a change in the government. The magistrates issue an order for a town guard :—

"17 *Decr.* 1713.

"The said day the magistrates and councill, taking to their serious consideration that the countrie is in present turned loose with vagabounds and others, and that there are houses frequently broken: Therefore they, for the security of the haill inhabitants within the burgh, statutes and ordains a guard to be keepit within the town during the councill's pleasure, which guaird is to consist of twelve able men, who are to goe through the whole town peaceably several times in the night time, and if the guaird hear or see any persons within the town after ten o'clock at night making disturbance, the guaird is empowered to bring such persons to the

[1] *Iron House*, the name sometimes given to the prison on the ground storey of the Culross tolbooth. It was generally termed the *Laigh Tolbooth*.

guaird, and to detain them till the next day, that the magistrates take accompt of their misdemanners: and the magistrates and councill ordain each family in the toun and liberties therof to furnish an able man by their turns to the said guaird; and ordaine the head of each family who refuses or delays to bear their burdens, to be poynded by the captain of the guaird and such of his company as he pleases to take along with him, and that discreetly without any abuse; and they allow the guaird the benefit of the councill-house; and the fine upon the refusers or delayers to be six shilling Scots for each failly; and remits the makeing of the cast and nameing the captain to Baillie Coustoun; and ordains this Act to be intimate by touck of drum."

On 15th February 1715, Bailie Coustoun, who had formerly been unsuccessfully opposed by Charles Cochrane, is again nominated by the council commissioner for Culross at the general meeting of the district burghs, which was to take place in the town next day, "for choiceing a burges to represent the said district in the ensuing Parliament of Great Britain, to be holden at Westminster the seventeen day of March next." Queen Anne was now dead, and the Elector of Hanover had been, amid wonderful tranquillity, proclaimed king as George I. The Jacobite cause received a stunning blow by the downfall of the Tories in the end of Queen Anne's reign; but it was soon again to raise its head.

The excitement of the parliamentary election had led to a little extra expenditure on the part of the council, who nevertheless display a commendable economy in the matter of their officers' coats:—

"31 *March* 1715.

"The council ordaine the persons concerned in furnishing the provision for the dinner at the election of the member of Parliament to give in their accompts against the next council day.

"The said day there being a petition given in by the officers craveing new coats, the council resolve to give them new coats; and Robert Sands having represented to the council that he has a piece of whyte cloath fit for that purpose, he is content to give the same for that end, and to allow what he ows to the town in the first end, and is content to refer the price to the council, who are satisfied therewith."

A singular entry appears under

"5 *July* 1715.

"The clerk represents to the council that he gave his receit to his Majestie's collector for a book sent to the burgh by the Speaker in the House of Commons, which book is intituled a report from the Committee of Secrecy, with a letter from the said Speaker to the eldest magistrate; which book and letter the clerk hath accordingly delivered to the council."

This is a mysterious affair altogether. Have we here a trace of Sir Robert Walpole's hand in Scottish politics? It is said that a favourite maxim of this astute minister of George I. was, that every man had his price. And do we here see his influence in initiating a system of bribery and corruption, extending even to the remote burgh of Culross?

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE KIRK-SESSION RECORDS FROM 1705 TO 1715.

THE Black Colonel, a portion of whose history has been detailed in the preceding chapter, becomes an elder of Culross church:—

"27 *March* 1705.

"This day Lieutenant-Colonel John Erskine, who had been for some years an elder in other places, having now for most part his residence here, was received as a member of this session, and the minister and eldership present gave him the right hand of fellowship."

It is evident that the Culross kirk-session considered this last addition to their body as a most honourable and important acquisition. In some respects, however, before they had done with him, they found that they had caught in the Black Colonel a veritable Tartar. Though an upright man and a zealous Presbyterian, he was both of a most choleric and litigious disposition—tendencies of which we shall have ample illustration as we proceed with these records.

After receiving the Black Colonel, the session

proceeds to investigate an alleged breach of the Act for restraining jovialities at weddings :—

"The session being informed of a breach of the Presbyterie's Act anent marriages, by John M'Coran at his wedding, do order the said John to be cited to the next session."

John appears, and is thus trounced :—

"23 *April* 1705.

"John M'Coran being cited, and this day called, and compearing before the session, was at some length spoke to for his conviction of having transgressed good order, and the laudable and needfull Acts of the Church for preventing abuses at marriages by restraining multitudes from being present at them; he got a sharp sessional rebuke for his presumption in counteracting the said laudable Acts, and was referred to the civil magistrate for his civil punishment according to the laws of the land."

The bride and bridegroom, on another occasion, receive a severe reprimand for the frolics indulged in at their wedding :—

"12 *June* 1705.

"The session being informed of David Toschach and Issobell Dalgleish, that at their marriage they did sundry wayes transgress the Presbyterie's Act, and particularly by having a multitude of persons at it, with much playing on a viol and dancing, does thereupon order their being cited to the next session."

"2 *July* 1705.

"David Toschach being called, and compearing, acknowledged his fault in having so many at his marriage, and in that there was so much lasciviousness at it in playing and dancing; whereupon he was dismissed with a rebuke, and referred to the magistrate for civil censure."

Another bride receives a rebuke for being married by a deposed Episcopal minister :—

"4 *March* 1708.

"Jannet Lamb compearing, and giving in a testificate of her being married by an outed Episcopal incumbent, was sharply rebuked for her scandalous private marriage, and appointed to appear the next Sabbath before the congregation, in order to the receiving of a more publick rebuke."

On 23d September 1708 the first charge of Culross, which had been vacant since the death of Mr Fraser in 1699, was filled up by the induction of Mr James Cuthbert. He is described as a youth of great piety and ability, an orator, and a poet. He had a great friendship with the celebrated Ralph Erskine, who about this time came to Culross to be chaplain in the house of his relation, the Black Colonel. Mr Cuthbert ordained Mr Erskine on the occasion of the latter being appointed to the second charge of the Abbey Church of Dunfermline.

At an election of elders in June 1709, besides the appointment of Mr Ralph Erskine, already mentioned, there were also six deacons chosen. This is the first election of deacons in connection with the church that I have seen in the kirk-session records of Culross. For some years after this date there is generally a notice of one or more deacons in attendance at the session meetings. The institution of deacons, as ministers to the church in secular matters, was received into the Presbyterian system as founded on apostolic usage. It seems, however, to have fallen into desuetude in practice, and we hear

little of it in connection with the history of the Church of Scotland. It was revived by the Free Church on the secession from the Establishment in 1843, and forms an important factor in its system.

"20 *Septr.* 1709.

"The session appoints Mr Ralph Erskine to attend the Synod next week as elder from this."

"29 *Novr.* 1709.

"Compeared Margaret Anderson: alleges she was unwell, and that the pain of her head hindered her coming to church. Being asked what she was doing amongst the kaill, answered she was pulling up a neep. It was thought she deserved a rebuke, which accordingly was given, and means used for conviction and amendment."

"Given to four strangers last week—whereof one was a gentleman dumb and deaf, called Gordon, a minister's son, who gave wonderful discoveries by signs of his knowledge in the mysteries of religion—5s. 6 pence sterling."

"12 *September* 1710.

"Bailie Gray and George Aitkin, having been collectors last Sabbath, the said B. Gray reports that George Aitkin and the town officer having gone through the town on Sabbath in the forenoon, to see if there were any disorders or unnecessary absence from the church, they told him they found John Blaw walking on the shore, and Rot. Anderson, son to Anne Brown, in the garden gathering kaill; whereupon the session orders them both to be cited to the next session."

It would be interesting to trace the progress of the above case, but nothing further is recorded.

Fasts appear to have been of frequent occurrence at this period—almost as much so as the festivals in the old Popish days. The times, in the estimation

of the kirk-session of Culross, had certainly become very wicked, as we find two congregational fasts ordered within two months of each other. A curious reason is assigned for one of these in the "boundless toleration" now accorded by law in religious matters, and the refusal of the civil to concur with the ecclesiastical powers in the enforcement of discipline.

The following entry refers to the book of subscriptions by the Culross parishioners to the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643 and 1648, already mentioned :—

"18 *Septr.* 1711.

"This day Bailie Adam gave in to the session a book wherein is contained the names of those in this paroch who subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant in the years Jayvic. and fourtie-three and Jayvic. and fourtie-eight, together with the said Covenant and some Acts relative thereto in print, which book is marked in gilded letters on the broads or covert therof. For the kirk of Culross the session do unanimously give thanks to the said Bailie John Adam for his care therof, and delivering up the same; and for the time committ it to the care of Mr Cuthbert, to be carefully kept by him at his house with the session-book."

Among the protestations by the kirk-session there is not one against the famous Act of Queen Anne, passed in 1712, and which, by restoring to patrons the right of presentation to benefices, occasioned ultimately so much dispeace and discredit to the Church. In point of fact it does not appear for a long period to have been much acted on, and the elections to vacant charges seem for some time to have been generally conducted in compliance with the wishes

of the congregation; at least, if any high-handed proceedings took place, it was more on the part of the presbyteries than the patrons. It is not till near the middle of the century, when the counsels of Dr Robertson and Dr Carlyle began to gain the ascendancy, that we hear of forced presentations to parishes, and the growing power of the party in the Church, which would fain have excluded the laity from any control in ecclesiastical matters.

Towards the end of this year (23d December 1712) an entry occurs relative to a dispute between Monteith of Burrowine and Thomas Brown of Barhill, regarding the right to a particular seat in Culross church. A certain "Archibald Angus in Inzevar" is mentioned as one who, both on his own account and as acting for Brown of Barhill in the absence of the latter, claimed an interest in the matter. He was doubtless the same occupant of Inzievar who married a sister-in-law of the celebrated Thomas Boston of Ettrick, so well known in Scottish households as the author of 'The Crook in the Lot' and 'Fourfold State,' and whose wife—Katherine Brown—was the daughter of the laird of Barhill, above Culross. This Thomas Brown—called by Boston in his Autobiography "Thomas Brown of Barhill, in Ferrytown"[1]—had married the eldest sister of Katherine Brown. Their father—Robert Brown of Barhill, near Culross—had now long been dead.

From various circumstances, Boston was brought into close contact for several years with Culross, and

[1] I do not know this locality. Perhaps Kincardine is meant.

he seems to have first come into the district in 1696, when he assumed the charge of Andrew Fletcher of Aberlady, a boy of nine, whose mother had married in her widowhood Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce of Kennet, in Clackmannanshire. He had first the oversight of the boy while at the High School of Edinburgh, and afterwards accompanied him and his family to Kennet, where the lad attended the grammar-school at Clackmannan. Boston expected at one time to have been received into the family of Colonel Erskine,[1] then governor of Stirling Castle; but this never took place. He speaks of attending a Sacrament at Culross on 6th June 1697. Shortly after this he was licensed as a preacher by the united Presbyteries of Dunse and Chirnside; and having apparently a great inclination to return within the bounds of the Presbytery of Stirling, notwithstanding of several offers of presentation to more than one parish in Berwickshire, he proceeded thither in 1698. Here, he informs us, he resided with the abovementioned Thomas Brown of Barhill, in Ferrytown, with whom he had contracted a particular friendship when previously living as tutor at Kennet. In August 1698 he accepted an invitation from Mr Fraser of Brea to assist at the Communion in

[1] This was either the Black Colonel or his nephew—most probably the former. It would seem that Colonel John Erskine, notwithstanding his attachment to the principles of the Revolution, could never be induced to take the oath of allegiance, and thus incapacitated himself from holding any office under Government. William III., however, was so satisfied of his loyalty, that whilst he appointed the nephew nominally to the command of Stirling Castle, he directed that the emoluments of the situation should be received by the uncle.

Culross; and when there, he made the acquaintance of Fraser's colleague, Mr George Mair, from whose friendship, he informs us, he afterwards derived great comfort. But a closer intimacy was to be inaugurated on the same occasion, inasmuch as during the succeeding week he proposed to and was accepted by Katherine Brown, then residing with her widowed mother at Barhill, near Culross. The worthy divine naively relates that when he was living with Thomas Brown at Ferrytown, Miss Brown had come from Culross to visit her brother-in-law; and finding Mr Boston sadly distressed with fainting-fits, she had, on the strength of information acquired from her father, recommended to the sufferer the application of wormwood poultices to the stomach —a prescription from which he derived great relief. He was soon afterwards troubled with a complaint in the chest; and for this also, like another Helena, Miss Brown was enabled to provide a remedy from the paternal recipes in the shape of Lucatellis balsam. "What engaged me to her," continues Boston, "was her piety, parts, beauty, cheerful disposition fitted to temper mine, and that I reckoned her very fit to see to my health."

Whilst Boston resided at Ferrytown, he seems to have acquired considerable reputation as a preacher, and movements were set on foot for having him settled at no fewer than four different places — at Clackmannan, at Saline, at Carnock, and at Dollar. With regard to Carnock, a strong influence had been put forth on his behalf by Lady Veronica, Dowager-

Countess of Kincardine, whose husband had been the principal heritor in that parish. Boston, however, informs us that he had received a bad impression of the parishioners, "as a self-conceited people, among whom I would have no success;" and so that locality, which is celebrated in the history of the Scottish Church as the scene of the ministrations of Row, Hogg, and Gillespie, missed the chance of adding another notable to its roll of great names in the author of 'The Crook in the Lot.' Boston's own inclinations or the force of circumstances proved equally cogent in preventing his settlement as minister of any of the other three parishes. Possibly, indeed, his own independence of spirit had something to do with this. In the case of Clackmannan, he informs us that his not bowing to the heritors from the pulpit, and declining to join their society on Sunday evenings, had, it was supposed, given offence, and rendered him unacceptable. He accordingly returned in 1699 to his native Berwickshire, where the same year he was ordained minister of Simprin, now united with the parish of Swinton, from which he was transferred in 1707 to Ettrick, where he died in 1732.

Boston is careful to relate that on his way to Edinburgh and the south in 1699 he called at Barhill, the family mansion of the Browns. The house stood on the crest of the hill above Culross, and nearly equidistant from the Gallows Loan and the road leading to Blairhall and Shiresmill. These two roads are connected by an ancient way, which, running east and west, led up to the house of Barhill, which

has now entirely disappeared, though its site is still marked by a field belonging to Mr Dalgleish of West Grange, called the Barhill Park. I have already described the incomparable view from the top of the Gallows Loan; and one nearly similar must have been commanded from this house, if it had any window looking to the west. It had certainly an "upper west chamber," to which Boston tells us that he retired to meditate on the evening after his marriage; and there was also an orchard attached, where, in the days of his courtship, he was wont to converse with Miss Brown.

A month after Boston's induction to Simprin he again crossed the Forth, and paid a visit to Barhill and his future bride. Whilst staying there, he was contemplating one Saturday to start for Clackmannan, with the view of preaching there next day; but just as he was setting forth, an earnest application was sent up to him by Mr Mair, begging him to do duty for him at Culross, in respect that he himself was obliged to go to Edinburgh. Going down accordingly to the manse, though rather against his inclination, he found that his reverend friend had put off his journey, but nevertheless was nowise disposed to set Mr Boston free for his proposed excursion to Clackmannan. He represented to the minister of Simprin the violence of the weather as a special indication of Providence for his remaining at Culross, and urged, moreover, that both he himself and many others were exceedingly desirous to have Boston as his colleague, the first charge being then

vacant. The latter yielded to these arguments, and describes with peculiar unction how he spent the evening and following Sunday (5th November 1699), when he preached for Mr Mair in the afternoon. On the following Monday he was preparing to return to Barhill, when his fervent host besought him to remain and take part in a "family fast," which, with devotional exercises, continued till two in the afternoon, when dinner was served. This was the first food partaken of by the two clergymen, at least that day; and the effect of such austerities may be conceived in the case of a man like poor Boston, who, though intellectually possessed of considerable powers, was bodily of a weak and sickly frame. He chronicles, however, all this asceticism with the greatest complacency.

After a sojourn in this part of the country for a fortnight, Boston returned to Simprin, from which, in the following year, he proceeded again to Culross. Apparently he paid more visits than one in the earlier part of the year; and on 17th July 1700, between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, he was united, by the aid of Mr Mair, to Katharine Brown in the house of Barhill. He was then twenty-five years of age, and his bride twenty-seven. He details his feelings and perplexities during his courtship and at the time of his marriage, in a fashion which he doubtless intended as serious and edifying, but which irresistibly recalls Pope's lines:—

> "To laugh were want of godliness and grace,
> Yet to be grave exceeds all power of face."

Boston was a good and well-meaning as well as an able man, but it was not judicious in him to commit to paper such a long and detailed account of his religious experiences during the period of his courtship. The wedding appears to have been a very solemn affair indeed, and most assuredly could have afforded no ground of complaint to the Culross kirk-session on the score of gaiety and merriment.

Boston had no reason afterwards to repent his choice of a wife; and though his married was like his bachelor life, checkered by great bodily suffering as well as family trial, it seems to have been also characterised by much domestic happiness. In the year following their union Mrs Boston gave birth to a daughter whose face was disfigured by a double harelip. A strange incident is related in connection with this child, who did not long survive, and died while her parents were absent at Barhill, whither they had gone to procure a settlement of sundry family matters. It is thus told by Boston himself:—

"In pursuance of which project I went to Barhill about the harvest, and the child having appeared to grow better, at the quarter's end took my wife along with me. But that journey proved a very heavy one for our trial. By the way thither my wife swooned at Danskin. . . . She recovering, we accomplished our journey. And being in Inzievair,[1] in her sister's house on a morning, she, lying abed after I was risen, dreamed that she saw the child perfect, the natural defect being made up, and extraordinary beautiful. This making impression, as it could hardly miss to do, we returned homeward as soon as conveniently we could.

[1] In the parish of Torryburn, Fifeshire.

Arriving at Blacksmill, about eight or nine miles from home, in a little our hearts were pierced with an account that our dear child was dead and buried; after which we came home in great heaviness, and found that very day and hour of the day, as near as could be judged, wherein my wife had the dream aforesaid, the child had died. Thus it pleased the Lord to exercise us with one affliction on the neck of another."

The scene of the above occurrence was probably the old farmhouse of Nether Inzievar, then occupied by Mr Angus, Boston's brother-in-law, as tenant, and which I remember upwards of forty years ago being used as a bothy.

After this digression on the subject of Thomas Boston and his connection with Culross, I return to the annals of the parish. The celebration of a Communion occasion in 1713 is thus noticed:—

"On Thursday, Nov. 19, the Fast was kept. Mr Buchanan and Mr Erskine, ministers of Dunfermline, and Mr Logan at Torryburn, preached.

"On Sat., Nov. 21, Mr Hamilton at Airth, and Mr Plenderleath at Saline, preached.

"On Sabbath, Nov. 22, Mr Cuthbert preached the action sermon on Rom. iii. 25, and Mr Mair the thanksgiving afternoon sermon, and the whole work comfortably ended 'twixt 4 and 5 afternoon.

"On Monday, Nov. 23, Mr Logan at Alloa, and Mr Kid at Queensferry, preached; and on Tuesday, Mr Hamilton at Airth."

The above shows the formidable amount of sermonising prevalent in those days. It is evident that on the Fast-day there had been two sermons

in the forenoon and one in the afternoon, two on the afternoon of Saturday, and two on the forenoon of Monday. As for the services on Sunday, they had probably commenced at eight o'clock in the morning, and ended, as we are told, "comfortably" between four and five in the afternoon. Both clergy and laity must have been pretty well worn-out.

Great battling goes on at this time about the church-seats. It is a pity that Culross had no Boileau[1] to immortalise the contests. Fixed pews were probably only beginning to be introduced, and being generally erected at the expense of the sitters, there was much wrangling over them, and the place in the church which they should occupy.

In July 1714, Mr Mair was translated from the second charge of Culross to Tulliallan, much to the displeasure of the magistrates and people, by whom he appears to have been highly esteemed. On 4th October of same year the session enacts—

"That persons be forbidden to stay out long in the churchyard, where they are idly employed, and whence they come not till the minister enter the church. And that persons be prohibited to sell ale, except to the sick, in time of sermon."

It is also

"Ordered that the last bell for week-day's sermon be rung at nine o'clock precisely; also, they judge it conve-

[1] I refer, of course, to his "Lutrin," a mock-heroic poem on the strife in a Paris church regarding the position of a reading or chorister's desk. By the way, is not this the same word as the medieval L. *lectrum*, a reading-desk, the English "lectern," and the Scotch "letteron," "lettrin," or "litteran"?

nient for the people in the town that the tolbooth bell ring not only at the second bell but also at the last bell, and that intimation hereof be made from the pulpit."

It would seem that certain Acts of session were appointed to be read before the congregation after morning service on the ensuing Sunday. This may account for the fervour of the language so generally conspicuous in them at this period. Mr Cuthbert, who is at present sole minister in Culross (Mr Mair having been translated, as already mentioned, to Tulliallan), is quite as unctuous as his colleague.

Notwithstanding the Act of Queen Anne restoring the privileges of patrons, there is no trace in the kirk-session records of Culross of any such privileges being claimed in the years which immediately followed 1712. In May 1715, Mr Charles Moore is admitted second minister, as successor to Mr George Mair; and though from the delay that had taken place in his election a *jus devolutum* had accrued to the Presbytery, the nomination and selection of the minister is left with the parishioners.

Mr Moore, who was a native of Armagh in Ireland, had but a brief stay in Culross, and was translated to the second charge of Stirling in 1718. Considerable interest attaches to him from the circumstance of his being the father of Dr John Moore, the celebrated author of 'Zeluco,' and the grandfather of Sir John Moore, the hero of Corunna.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE BURGH RECORDS FROM 1715 TO 1735.

I NOW present my reader with a succession of extracts which possess a more than usual interest from their bearing reference to the rebellion of 1715, and showing how that event was agitating men's minds in a little Scottish burgh at that period. It will be remembered that the Jacobite cause had some partisans in Culross :—

"26 *July* 1715.

"The council being credibly informed that the Pretender designes to invade Brittaine, and that he should have taken sail the 18 instant; and understanding that the neighbouring burghs and other places about are keeping guaird and putting themselves in the best posture of defence they can: Therefore they think it expedient, and ordain a guaird to be keiped every night as long as the council thinks convenient, consisting of eighteen men and two commanding officers, and to begin this night; each man is to parade himself this night with a firelock and a sword and ammunitione. Accordingly the council hes named this night's guaird, whom they ordained to be warned by the officer to meet in the tolbooth against nine o'clock at night at beating the drum, and to continue upon the guard till five o'clock in

the morning, one of the baillies coming to see the guard dismounted; and that under the penalty of twenty shilling Scots, and empowers the guard to poynd the failiers therefore. But ordains the guaird to behave themselves wisely, and not to be guilty of any abuse whatsoever, under the penalty of twenty shilling Scots for each fault. And farder, the council ordain the haill fencible men betwixt the age of 60 and 16 within this burgh to meet on the Sand Haven the morrow at two o'clock in the afternoon, with their best armour, under the pain of twenty shilling Scots; and ordains intimation hereof to be made by touck of drum the morrow morning against eight o'clock, and ordains the baillies by turns to name the guaird.

"As also the councill hereby discharge the boatmen to take any strangers over the water or bring them to this syd without acquainting the magistrates and procuring their liberty thereto, and that under the penalty of five pounds Scots."

"27 *August* 1715.

"The councill being credibly informed that the Pretender's standart is set up about the Brae of Mar as the standart of King James the Eight, and that it is their duty to put themselves and the town in the best posture of defence they can, think it proper and necessar that fifty pund weight of powder or thereby, with lead conform, be sent for; and ordaine the three baillies to buy the same for the behoof of the town, and to sell it out in parcels to such of the inhabitants as shall be pleased to buy the same, at the rate it is bought."

In the autumn of 1715 there was good cause for the alarm expressed in a minute of the Culross town council. The Jacobite army, under the command of the Earl of Mar, was descending through Perthshire on the Lowlands. After the lapse of little more than

a fortnight, on 13th November, it was encountered on the Sheriffmuir by the Government troops, under the Duke of Argyll, and, if not defeated, received at least a serious check. Sheriffmuir is on the north slope of the Ochils, a few miles from Dunblane, and, as the crow flies, not twenty miles from Culross. The "Sherramuir," as the engagement was popularly termed, was long remembered in Scotland, and gave rise to the proverbial expression, "There was mair lost at Sherramuir," with the addition sometimes (as a fling at the Highlanders), "whaur a Hielandman lost his faither and his mither, and a gude grey mare that was worth them baith!" Burns makes the "Grannie" in "Halloween" thus refer to the battle:—

"Ae hairst afore the Sherramoor,
I mind't as weel's yestreen,
I was a gilpey then, I'm sure
I wasna past fifteen."

He also, in the same poem, speaks of the year 1715 as "Mar's year," from the circumstance of the rebellion having been mainly conducted by the Earl of Mar.

A Jacobite burgess is thus called to account:—

"12 *December* 1715.

"The council having convened, Robert Dalgleish, younger, flesher, burges of this burgh, for going to Perth and corresponding with the rebells; who being present, acknowledged judicially that he went to Perth with Mrs Muirheid, and stayed there some days, and helped to kill an ox for Marr's use, and conversed with some of the rebells in Perth. And the vote being stated what punishment shall

be inflicted upon him, it carryed by plurality of votes that he continue in prison ay and while he find sufficient caution, that he shall answear as law will for the fault confessed, under the penalty of one hundred pound Scots, and that he shall not be guilty of the like in time coming."

The tacksman of the ferry from Culross to Borrowstounness, on whose trade an embargo had been laid during the rebellion, applies for an abatement of rent:—

"17 *September* 1716.

"The said day there being a representation given in to the council for William Drysdale, tacksman of the watter money for the year 1715, representing that the boats were stoped by the Government the time of the rebellion, to his great loss, and that he has given in more to the town than he got; which being considered by the council, and that he has payed ten merks thereof, they quite him the ballance, being four pounds six shilling and eight pennies, and discharge him of the water monie for the said year."

We have now heard the last of the rebellion of 1715 as far as the town of Culross is concerned; but before quitting the subject, I should like to say something of a member of the Preston family who took a leading part in the troubles of this period. This was the celebrated General George Preston, younger son of Sir George Preston, first baronet of Valleyfield, and uncle of the Sir George Preston whom we shall soon find exercising a princely act of generosity towards the town of Culross. Prior to the Revolution he had entered the service of the States-General of Holland, and had accompanied William of Orange to England. He

served in all the wars of William III. and Queen Anne, and was severely wounded at the battle of Ramillies, several bullets lodging in his body which could never afterwards be extracted. In 1706 he became colonel of the Cameronian regiment, and in 1715, the year of the rebellion, had intrusted to him the command of the Castle of Edinburgh, which he held with great firmness and gallantry. When the Jacobites gained a partial possession of the town, he threatened to fire on it from the Castle, and had thereupon a message conveyed to him that if he did so the family mansion of Valleyfield would be burnt by the Pretender's army. He held his ground resolutely, and for several years after the suppression of the rebellion acted as commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland. When a second insurrection on behalf of the Stewarts took place in 1745, and the young Pretender Charles Edward was advancing towards Edinburgh, General Preston, though now an aged veteran of upwards of fourscore, hastened to the Castle, which he held with unflinching bravery against the rebel force during the whole time that they occupied the capital. My reader may remember Colonel Talbot discussing in 'Waverley' the future movements of the Pretender's army, and intimating his belief that the possibility of his old commander General Preston surrendering the Castle under any circumstances, and the building itself sinking into the North Loch, were equally likely contingencies. The old General died at Valleyfield in 1748, in his eighty-ninth year. He retrieved the

fortunes of the Preston family, and increased considerably the value of the estate by purchasing and incorporating with Valleyfield the two farms of Overton and Muirside in the north of the parish. He also purchased from the Blairhall family the New Mills of Culross, which, from their situation, form so naturally a part of the Valleyfield estate that it seems scarcely possible at the present day to conceive of their having once constituted an appanage of Blairhall. The rights of thirlage claimed by the lord of these mills over the burgh of Culross had been strenuously but unsuccessfully resisted by the latter. Then it had endeavoured to better itself by taking the mills in feu from the proprietor of Blairhall—a step which ultimately involved Culross in the greatest trouble, and indeed was one leading cause of her financial derangements. Lastly, she would fain have got rid of the incubus by resigning the feu into the superior's hands; but this he refused to accept. The town thus remained, down to recent times, *thirled* to the New Mills,—that is to say, the burgesses were not only bound to carry thither to be ground all grain produced within the burgh, but had also to pay an impost on all grain brought into the burgh—the *invecta et illata*, as it was termed—and this, whether it was in the form of grain, of meal or flour, or of malt. In ancient phraseology, "whatever tholed fire or water" was subject to thirlage. The claim took its origin in the circumstance of the mill having been built by the feudal superior or baron for behoof of his vassals, who were thus held

bound in return to give him or his tacksman the benefit of their custom. The words *thirl* and *thirlage* are simply other forms of *thrall* and *thraldom.*

About this period the burgh of Culross had been involved in a vexatious lawsuit with Colonel Erskine of Carnock, who, as purchaser of the Kincardine estates, claimed right to the coal lying beneath the town moor. After a good deal of money had been spent in defending its rights, the victory remained with the burgh—though it proved but a profitless one, as a still further expenditure was incurred in an unsuccessful attempt to ascertain the existence of the minerals and let them out on lease. Meantime, whilst they are striving with the Black Colonel, they elect the White Colonel as their commissioner to the General Convention of Burghs. The minute to this effect is dated 17th June 1717, and describes the White Colonel as "fair Collonell John Erskine," the same individual who is afterwards spoken of as a son of Sir John Erskine of Alva.

The following application to the town council has some interest:—

"5 *Novr.* 1717.

"The council considering that there is a letter from Mr Alexr. Bruce direct to the magistrates and council, wherein he desyres that when any vacancies falls in Lord Bruce hospital, they may recommend to him, who is now manager of the said hospitell, such burgesses as are deuly qualified in the terms of the mortification. And the council ordains Baillie Robertson to return him thanks, and that it shall be observed; and ordains the letter to be keepit."

The hospital referred to in the above minute was

that founded at Culross in 1637, by Thomas Bruce, first Earl of Elgin, who states in the narrative of the deed of foundation, that he is carrying out the intentions of his predecessors—his father Lord Kinloss, and his own brother Lord Edward Bruce. He announces that he has erected a hospital at the east end of Culross for the reception of twelve poor persons, inhabitants of the town—six men and six women—who are to reside in the building, and be maintained there out of the revenues of certain lands which he has destined or *mortified* for this purpose, lying partly near the Kirk of Rosyth, partly in the neighbourhood of the Nethertown at the town of Dunfermline. They must all be respectable persons, and free of any infectious disease or troublesome complaint. The government of the hospital, as well as its patronage, is reserved exclusively to himself and his representatives, who are, moreover, to have the power of presenting, on the occasion of a vacancy, persons who do not belong to the parish of Culross. The building thus erected by the first Lord Elgin was situated at the foot of the Abbey orchard, on the slope above the high road, a little to the east of the Newgate. It appears to have been regularly tenanted by a succession of occupants who were maintained there out of the revenues provided for them, and occasionally drew on themselves the animadversion of the ecclesiastical authorities for various misdemeanours, such as drunkenness or neglect of religious ordinances. Mr Alexander Bruce, mentioned above, seems to have been

the son of the Earl of Kincardine, and must have been appointed manager of the charity by his kinsman the Earl of Elgin, who was then living abroad at Brussels, where he died at an advanced age in 1741.

About 120 years ago the original building erected by the first Lord Elgin became ruinous, and probably also there was a desire on the part of the occupants of Culross Abbey to have such an institution removed to a greater distance from their lawns and pleasure-grounds. An agreement—or, as it is called in Scotch law, an *excambion*—was entered into between Mr Charles Cochrane's trustees, as proprietors of the Abbey, on the one hand, and Charles, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine (the two titles having been united in him), as hereditary patron of Lord Bruce's hospital, on the other. In virtue of this arrangement, the original hospital, with its ground, was made over in 1761 to Mr Cochrane's trustees, or rather to the beneficiary, Lord Dundonald, who conveyed to Lord Elgin in return a new building which he had recently erected considerably to the east of the former hospital, and almost at the eastern extremity of the burgh territory on the lands of St Mungos. This was to form the hospital in future; the beneficiaries were to reside there, as formerly in their old abode; and the whole institution was to be governed in accordance with the regulations laid down in the original deed of foundation.

For a number of years Lord Bruce's hospital was maintained on its new site; but about half a century

ago the grandfather of the present Lord Elgin, the celebrated transporter to this country of the Elgin Marbles, conceived that the clause in the original deed allowing his family to nominate to the vacancies in the hospital persons not belonging to the parish, gave him the right of removing entirely from Culross the benefits of the institution, and bestowing them on the workmen and other inhabitants of the village of Charlestown employed in the lime-works on his lordship's estate of Broomhall. It is not my province here to discuss the legality of the transference. Suffice it to say, it was accomplished, and, as far as I have been able to learn, without any opposition at the time on the part of the Culross authorities. One or two old people, the last Culross pensionaries appointed, were allowed to end their days in the hospital, the building of which, however, was suffered to fall into utter ruin; and I can recollect myself as a child being much impressed with its miserable aspect as then tenanted by one old woman. On her death the last vestiges of human occupancy disappeared; every fragment of woodwork, including roof, doors, and windows, was stripped and carried off, by people, it is said, living in the neighbourhood; and the weird-like, ghoul-haunted-looking edifice—with its walls, outer and inner, indeed entire—a ghastly skeleton, remains still, opposite the fishing cottage between Low Valleyfield and Culross: and were it not that the belief in ghosts and spectres has now become almost extinct, the old walls would certainly ere now have

furnished many a tale of terror for the winter's fireside. Old Alloway Kirk itself could not have furnished, in its general surroundings, a more likely or more suitable spot for a diabolical revel.

The Culross youths had been in the practice, it would seem, of making raids on gardens to procure the means of dressing the Cross with flowers on the marches day. The council, on 18th May 1718, issue a prohibitory edict, threatening that if any more complaints of the kind be made, "they will discharge busking the Cross and Tron hereafter."

Baillie Hunter having been appointed by the town council their commissioner for representing the burgh at the General Assembly of the Church, reports his proceedings:—

"26 *May* 1718.

"The said day Baillie Hunter reports he went to Edinburgh the sixteen instant, and returned Friday last the twenty-third instant, and attended the Assembly during that time, and that he was obleidged to give in a crown with his commission, which, with a crown for horse-hyre and sixteen shillings sterling for his charges eight days, extends to twenty-six shillings sterling; the council ordains the treasurer to pay the same."

Five shillings for horse-hire to and from Edinburgh, with two shillings a-day for maintenance, is a moderate charge indeed. A day's board at an Edinburgh hotel would cost now more than kept the worthy Baillie for eight days.

Orders are issued at the same time for celebrating King George's birthday, and also for providing some

civic requirements, coupled with a proper regard to economy :—

"The said day it is ordained that the hail council meet upon Wednesday next (being the King's birthday), betwixt six and seven at night, in order to solemnize the said day, and that they meet in the tolbooth, and that the haill inhabitants put out bonefires or candles.

"The council ordain James Robertson, taylor, to turn the officers' coats, and to furnish what necessars they want; and ordain the pyper to get a new rid coat, and allows the drummer to get als many new tews as will serve the drum."

A Meal-Mob at Culross.

"2 *April* 1720.

"The said day Baillie James Adam and Baillie Law represented that there happened a mob at Valleyfield Pans lately, anent some meall that was carrying out of the town, and that they sent through a proclamation the forenoon before against the same, and that they themselves went in person and saw the same safely out of the town's liberty, and that they are summoned to Perth to witness what they did hear and see of the matter. The council considering the affair, find they were acting as baillies, and exerted themselves as became; therefore they enact and ordain the treasurer pay their necessar charges."

"12 *April* 1720.

"The clerk reports that he went to Edinburgh Wednesday last, and returned Saturdays night, and got the town's decreet of declarator Act and commission, with letters of diligence, against Colonel Erskine anent the muir and coall, &c.; and that the accompt of the expenses thereof, with his own charges of horse-hyres, extends to one hundred and six pounds eighteen shillings and four pennies Scots, which the council orders the treasurer to pay to the clerk, who

has instantly produced and delivered the decreet, &c., until the extracter's receipt therof, which amounts to ninety-six pound 13s. 4d. Scots, the rest of the above some [sum] being for his horse-hyres, fraughts, and charges."

The town has gained so far, though at some cost, its plea with the Black Colonel, regarding the property of the moor and underlying minerals. The town-clerk receives for travelling expenses and four days' maintenance £10, 5s. Scots, or 17s. 1d. sterling, which certainly cannot be deemed an extravagant outlay. In a subsequent entry he is ordered to receive 12s. 8d. Scots, or one shilling and two-thirds of a penny sterling, for the hire of a horse to Dunfermline and back to attend a meeting of the Presbytery.

The burning of sea-ware for the manufacture of kelp had at this time come to be extensively practised about Culross, and many complaints in consequence arose. We shall soon hear of a grand *fracas* in connection with this matter, in which the Black Colonel plays a prominent part :—

"19 *July* 1720.

"The council, taking to their consideration that there was a memorial given in to the magistrates compleaning of the burning ware, to the prejudice of those who have burrow aikers and yairds, and to the health of the inhabitants, and several other prejudices mentioned in the memoriale, and that the said memoriale was by the magistrates referred to the council, they discharge the cutting and burning of ware within the liberties of the town, until those who design to practise that procure the consent of the major pairt of the heritors and possessors of burrow aikers; and when that is

done, the council will consider in what terms and under what restrictions to tolerate the burning wair."

The first of June 1721 is a red-letter day in the burgh records. It seems, therefore, proper to extract its proceedings *in extenso*:—

"Culross, the first day of June 1721.—Sederunt: James Adam, David Law, and John Buchanan, Baillies; James Nesmith, Dean of Gild; David Belfrage, treasurer; Laurance Johnston, Robert Spittle, William Cumming, Archibald White, John Donaldson, William Milln, George Drysdale, and William Drysdale, trades councillor; and William Murgan. Baillie Buchanan, *preses.*

"The said day the Honourable Sir George Preston of Valeyfield, Baronet, compeared personally in council and represented that the good will and kindness he bears towards the good town of Culross had induced him to enquire into the circumstances therof; and finding the burgh to be considerablie in debt, did instantly of his own proper motive most generously and freely, in presence of the council, give to David Belfrage, presentlie treasurer, 2000 merks Scots towards freeing and easing the town of a pairt of their debt. Whereupon the whole magistrates and council returned the said Sir George Preston thair most humble and dutyfull thanks and good wishes; and in commemoration of his generosity, ordained thir presents to be recorded in their registers as a lasting remembrance of such a considerable free gift conferred on the burgh. *Sic subtur.*, Jo. Buchanan."

Sir George Preston must have made his appearance in the council chamber of Culross like a *deus ex machinâ* to relieve the burgh from its hopeless state of financial entanglement. It was really a

princely donation in its way, and must be credited with the best and purest motives — at least there is not a shadow of evidence to the contrary. Sir George seems to have become the possessor of a considerable fortune, which enabled him to relieve the burgh of Culross of its difficulties and close up the old wound which had been rankling in the breasts of the burgesses towards his family ever since the time when his father and brother, by procuring the erection of Valleyfield into a burgh of barony, had interfered so seriously with the privileges of the older community, and more especially with the girdlemaking monopoly.

The then treasurer of Culross, it is seen, was David Belfrage, described in the stent-roll for the west quarter of the town as "David Belfrage, Treasr., merchant." The name is certainly a corruption of "Beveridge," which is also found occasionally in the burgh records of Culross as "Beverage" and "Beveradge," there being also a garden described as "Beverage's yeard." I am not aware, however, of any forebear of my own having belonged to Culross. The origin of the name is to be found in "Beverege," the name of an island in the Severn, referred to by the monkish chronicler Florence of Worcester as a retreat of the Danes during a revolt of the English. The word signifies "Beaver Island," and is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *befer*, or *beofer*, a beaver, and *ig* or *ige*, an island. A cognate name is "Beverley," the Beaver holm or meadow.

The amount of Sir George's gift was 2000 merks

Scots, or £111, 2s. 2⅔d. sterling. The council are not content with having his generosity recorded in the burgh minute-book, but resolve on something grander and more enduring. Evidently they had not the same idea of the immortality of their minute-book as Horace had of his poems when he wrote—

"Exegi monumentum ære perennius."

The Culross dignitaries thought the *æs*, or perhaps I should rather say the *aurum*, a more enduring register than paper or parchment. They ordain as follows :—

"The said day the council ordain a broad to be made, and erected in the council house, mentioning that the Honourable Sir George Preston gave the town the foresaid 2000 merks, to be a lasting memorial of his goodness to the town; and that the inscription be in gold letters."

In February 1724 the incorporation of girdlemakers apply for assistance to the town council in prosecuting an action against a recreant member of the craft, and receive a donation of £12, 12s. Scots towards this object. The whole subject of the Culross girdles and girdlesmiths is discussed in another chapter.

The council resolve to have a trial made as to the existence of coal-seams in the moor of Culross, and Laurence Johnston is appointed the chief manager or superintendent of these operations. A great deal of money was spent in the search, which would have been better expended in reclaiming and cultivating the surface of the moor.

On 21st September 1725, Laurence Johnston is chosen dean of guild, and on 29th September 1727 becomes second bailie. It appears, from an account presented in June 1728 for repairing the pier of Culross, that the wages of a mason were then a merk Scots, or 1s. 1⅓d. sterling per day. A "barrowman" or labourer received 6s. Scots, or 6d. sterling, per day.

Here are some interesting particulars of regulations for providing the lieges with post-horses :—

"2 *November* 1728.

"The councill, considering that both the inhabitants of the burgh and the leidges are incommoded and losers by there not being ane establisht postmaster in the burgh for providing the leidges in hired horses: For preventing whereof the council appoint all persons within the burgh who keep horses for hiring, that they give in a list of their horses to serve the leidges for hiring, and that the same list be attested by the magistrates and given to the postmaster, who is authorized to oblidge the hirers so listed to furnish the leidges with a horse by turns when necessity requires; and for effectuating the premises the council appoint Robert Ferguson to be postmaster during the council's pleasure, and that the hirers enlist themselves upon Thursday next, being the day for rouping the common good."

In 1729 a negotiation is entered into with a Mr Stephen Teems for a lease to him of the burgh coal; and on the 14th March a head court or *curia capitalis* of the burgesses is summoned, at which "the haill community present give it as their best advice that the magistrates and town council sett the coal to the best advantage they can." No satisfactory

arrangement, however, seems ever to have been accomplished.

The Black Colonel causes a tremendous disturbance on account of the burning of sea-ware :—

"30 *July* 1729.

"John Ballingall compeared before the council and acquainted them that yesternight, about ten, Colonel Erskine, Peter Reid, Patrick Niccoll, William Buchan, and James M'Kairtan, his servants, came in a maisterfull and riotous manner, and extinguished the ware-kilns that were burning, and threw out and scattered the ashes that were burnt, by which all the kelp that could have been made of the said kilns is entirely lost, to his great loss and prejudice. . . .

"The council, considering the affair of the sea-ware, unanimously agree that John Balingall, and the workpeople employed by him, continue to cut and burn the said sea-ware till legally interpelled.

"Also, the council unanimously recommend to the procurator-fiscall to prosecute these who were guilty of the ryot yesternight anent the extinguishing the ware-kilns, &c.

"The council appoint the thesaurer to pay Robert Dalgleish three pounds Scots[1] for his pains and expence in going to Edinburgh express with a letter to Mr Boswell anent Colonel Erskine's suspension anent the sea-ware, being three days and three nights."

So much for the history of the famous kelp onslaught, headed by Black Colonel Erskine of Carnock, as detailed in the burgh minute-books of Culross. Many will be disposed, no doubt, to regard the whole affair as little more dignified than the *Polemo-Middinia* between Ladies Scotstarvet and

[1] 5s. sterling.

Newbarns, immortalised by Drummond's macaronics. But, seriously speaking, it seems to have been a very wanton and high-handed proceeding on the part of the choleric old gentleman, who certainly had no right to take the law into his own hands, even though the smoke of the kelp-kilns went down his throat, offended his nose, and aggravated his asthmatic tendencies. There is no reason to doubt that the account of the affair presented in the above day's entry is in every respect substantially correct. It may now not be uninteresting to my reader to peruse the following account either of this or another *fracas*, as detailed in Sir H. Moncreiff Wellwood's 'Life of Dr Erskine,' the Black Colonel's grandson, who himself took a prominent part in the affair. Sir Henry assures us that he received the account of the occurrence from one who was intimately acquainted with all the parties concerned :—

"During the last ten or twelve years of Lieutenant-Colonel Erskine's life, he was occasionally afflicted with asthma, which he endured with considerable impatience. He had an attack of this kind when the magistrates of Culross, where he resided, were burning kelp on the shore immediately below his residence. Imagining that his complaint was irritated by the smoke of the kelp, he sent peremptory orders to put out the fires, to which the magistrates were not disposed to submit. Too much provoked to consider either their rights or his own, he resolved to extinguish the fires with his own hand. Unable to walk, he mounted his horse, and made his grandson (the subject of this narrative, who was then at his house, a youth about the age of fourteen) march before him along the steep descent of the street of Culross, with his grandfather's sword drawn, in his hand

—a circumstance which, to those who were afterwards acquainted with the venerable figure of Dr Erskine, must present a very singular picture.

"The magistrates, not willing to acquiesce in the Colonel's encroachment on their privileges, assembled their retainers, and fairly took him and his grandson prisoners. His passion had soon sufficiently subsided to enable him to address the magistrates in the following terms: 'This is all nonsense, gentlemen, and we are all in the wrong. Come along to the inn, and we shall all dine together and forget this folly.' They accompanied him without hesitation. He treated them with the best dinner which the inn afforded, and the afternoon was spent in perfect good-humour and cordiality."

One cannot help suspecting that the scene described by Sir H. Moncreiff Wellwood had taken place *after* the riot detailed in the minute-book on 30th July 1729. Very likely John Ballingall, encouraged by the judgment of the magistrates, pursued quietly his burning of sea-ware and manufacture of kelp. The Colonel became provoked, and, regardless of law and reason, set out again on a "colonelling" expedition, like Sir Hudibras, to extinguish the cause of his disquiet. It is evident that the burgh minutes do not record the same event as that detailed by Dr Erskine's biographer, inasmuch as in the former case the hostile purpose was accomplished; in the latter it was prevented. There is no reason for doubting the substantial correctness of either account. Yet in that given by Sir H. Moncreiff Wellwood we may note one or two inaccuracies. It is perfectly certain that at the time indicated Colonel Erskine was not residing in Culross Abbey, although he had

been originally infeft in it, seeing that Lady Mary Cochrane had managed successfully, in opposition to him, to assert her right to the family mansion and surrounding acres, which for nearly a century afterwards continued to be possessed by her family. The Colonel was obliged to content himself with the other so-called "Palace or Great Lodging" in the Sand Haven, which had also belonged to the Earls of Kincardine, and in which he himself had been infeft without opposition, as the purchaser of their estate. Though I cannot establish by direct evidence that this was his habitation during the period of his connection with Culross, yet the voice of persistent tradition has assigned this dwelling as his residence, and named it after him, "The Colonel's Close." It is situated on the level ground at a short distance from the sea; and therefore it is quite impossible that Colonel Erskine could have descended on horseback the steep street of Culross, as he must have done had he lived in the Abbey or in some quarter of the upper part of the town. But if, as seems probable, the burning of the kelp took place on the shore opposite the Playfield between Culross and Dunimarle, the distance might still be too much for a crippled old man to accomplish on foot; and he might well, therefore, make the journey on horseback. We must make allowance, also, for some rhetorical embellishment. Curiously enough, no further notice is taken in the minute-book of the dispute between the Colonel and the Culross magistrates. Consequently we may receive the circumstances detailed in Dr

Erskine's Life with some degree of confidence, as presenting a true account of the final settlement of the quarrel.

On a loose slip of paper in the minute-book is the following curious entry :—

> "Head Court of the Burgh of Culross, holden at the Boar Stone, 18th May 1730, by Laurence Johnston and James Robertson, baillies.
>
> "The head court roll being called, such as were present gave suit and presence. Some were excused for lawfull reasones, and those who gave no reasonable excuse their names are as follows—viz. [follows a list of names].

Then follows, on the same fragment of paper, a minute of a head court held at Culross 1st October 1730. At the end of the list of absents is the following :—

> "The baillies fines each of the above absents in twenty shillings Scots, according to the proclamation.
>
> "JOHN ROLLAND."

This slip of paper is evidently of the same age as the dates which it bears. It is clear, both from this and another scrap in the minute-book, that attendance at the head courts of the burgh—whether at the Borestone or the tolbooth—was no formality or fiction, but was rigidly expected from the burgesses under the pain of fine and imprisonment.

The Borestone is a stone on the very limit of the burgh moor at its western extremity, near the spot where the kennels of Tulliallan Castle now stand. It was always the goal of the municipal expedition

on the marches day; and the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Kincardine used regularly on that occasion to indulge in the practical joke of visiting the Borestone before the Culross cavalcade arrived, and depositing thereon a quantity of *leeks*. For some reason or other not explained, but probably from the circumstance that Culross was renowned for its leeks and other garden-produce, the epithet of a "Culross Leek" was an old local taunt applied to any one belonging to the burgh. The word "borestone" denotes the "boundary stone," and is still used in this sense in the New Forest in Hampshire, where it is called a "bowerstone," as we are informed by Mr Wise in his 'History and Scenery of the New Forest.' This meeting of the Culross community at the Borestone is an example of those open-air assemblies which in ancient times were held in special localities set apart for the purpose, for the enactment and promulgation of laws. An instance of it still exists in the custom observed in the Isle of Man, where all laws passed by the Parliament of the island are promulgated to the lieges at the Tynwald Hill; and another remained till the middle of last century, in the holding of the Stannary Parliaments on the summit of Crockern Tor, Devonshire, where the deputies, seated on granite blocks, discussed, amid the mists and drizzle of Dartmoor, the laws and regulations for the working of the tin-mines.

In July 1730 an Act of the General Convention of Royal Burghs is received by the town council

of Culross, and ordered to be recorded. It is rather an interesting document, being essentially a denunciation of smuggling—or, as it is therein expressed, "the clandestine importation and open and excessive consumption of brandy within Scotland." It states "that great sums of money are yearly exported for purchasing this unnecessary commodity, which, being run without payment of duty, is sold cheaper than spirits distilled in Scotland can be afforded for, and is therefore universally used, to the total discouragement of the distillery at home, and to the lessening the price of the grain of this country, which, were it manufactured and used in spirits, might fully supply the room of brandy and all other foreign spirits, and save so great an expense of money to the nation." The Scottish burghs are accordingly earnestly recommended to do all in their power to remedy this state of matters, and report to the Committee of the Convention what measures they shall have devised for this purpose, and the success that may have attended their efforts in the way of repression.

The evil thus complained of had developed itself largely since the union of the kingdoms, in consequence of the imposition, on foreign liquors and commodities, of duties which hitherto had been comparatively unknown in Scotland. There was also a strong spirit of opposition to every legislative measure proceeding from England. All this, combined with a general laxity of supervision on the part of the authorities, had produced an immense amount of

smuggling traffic between Scotland and the Continent, and more especially with the Low Countries. The line of small burghs extending along the northern shore of the Firth of Forth from Culross to Crail, were particularly notorious for their addiction to the contraband trade, and stood in no little need of the admonition issued by the General Convention of Burghs. Men of the greatest outward respectability did not scruple to participate in this trade in smuggled, or, as they were termed, "run" goods; and the surveillance exercised by Government seems never to have been of a very thorough or effectual kind. As a business carried on methodically and on an extensive scale, smuggling has long become, with some occasional exceptions, wholly extinct.

A panic regarding mad dogs having arisen, the Culross magistrates issue the following sweeping and peremptory

"*Act anent Killing Dogs.*

"23 *February* 1733.

"The said day, it being represented that there has been some wood[1] dogs going through the town, and that it is a great danger to suffer any dogs within the town to live, the council by plurality of votes appoint, enact, and ordain the haill dogs and bicks within the town to be put to death, and that against the morrow at two of the clock in the afternoon, under the penalty of ten shillings sterling in case of

[1] Mad, furious—from the Anglo-Saxon *wod*. It is generally in Scotland written and pronounced *wud*. It is used more than once by Spenser—

"Coal-black steeds yborn of hellish brood,
That on their rusty bits did champ as they were *wood*."

none-performance against the time foresaid, and that by and attour performance, and that to be done by the persons themselves or their order."

Whether or not this order was rigidly carried out, there is no evidence to show.

The town having failed in its negotiations for letting the coal in the burgh territory, it was resolved about this time to have a trial and search instituted to ascertain the presence of that commodity in the common moor of Culross. Contributions towards this object were solicited from the different corporations, and a great deal of money seems to have been profitlessly expended. No commensurate success, however, was achieved. A few years subsequently extensive grants of the moor were made in feu to the Dundonald family, in which the property of the minerals was included. As regards those within the burgh territory proper, it was ultimately taken in lease by the Earl of Dundonald, who covenanted to pay therefor the yearly rent of five pounds sterling —which, however, was only to be exigible when he should have actually commenced to work the minerals. This right, after remaining for nearly a hundred years in abeyance, was recently claimed by his lordship's grandson—the late Earl of Dundonald—and the claim admitted by the burgh of Culross. No actual working has, however, yet taken place.

On 6th November 1733 a letter was received by the magistrates and town council from Mr Colville of Ochiltree, heritable bailie of the regality of Culross, who now urged his right of criminal jurisdic-

tion over the burgh. He deprecates any wish to quarrel with the latter or its rulers, but refers to an alleged decision of the Court of Session in 1663 on this question, in favour of an ancestor of his—a Lord Colville of Ochiltree—and proposes that the matter in dispute be referred to the arbitration of two lawyers. The Culross town council resolve to take the opinion of Mr Boswell, advocate, on the subject—and till that is obtained, defer sending any reply to Mr Colville.

The writer of this letter, Mr Robert Colville, or, as he was generally termed, Mr Robert Ayton Colville of Craigflower, was the son of Sir John Ayton, who had married a sister of Robert, third and last Lord Colville of Ochiltree. This Lord Colville dying without issue, the representation of the family, as regarded inheritance, devolved on the son of his sister, Lady Ayton, who assumed the name of Colville; but the baronage could only be taken up by males, and no one has ever succeeded in making good his claim to it up to the present day. Robert Ayton Colville married Janet Wedderburn, a daughter of Sir Peter Wedderburn of Gosford; and at a subsequent period there was another intermarriage of the representatives of the Colville and Wedderburn families, from which the present Mr Colville of Craigflower is descended. The heritable jurisdiction of the regality of Culross, which had belonged to the Lords Colville of Ochiltree, became vested in Mr Robert Colville as their representative; and he now sought to enforce his claims on the burgh, which, as

we have already seen, had been already made—and not altogether unsuccessfully—by his predecessors. On the present occasion the magistrates endeavoured to temporise, and despatched a conciliatory answer to Mr Colville's letter, in which, without absolutely repudiating his claim, they deprecate the proceedings of his bailies in attempting to hold regality courts within the limits of the burgh. The dispute never seems to have been formally adjusted, and all necessity for a settlement was obviated a few years afterwards by the Act of 1748, which abolished heritable jurisdictions.

In the following minute of 27th December 1733 we have a reference to an extraordinarily high tide at Culross. I am strongly inclined to think it must be the same event which I have heard a lady, now deceased, speak of as having been related to her by her mother (who died nearly twenty years ago at the age of ninety); and she, again, had heard it from her mother. The only special circumstance that I remember about the story is, that the people in Culross were wading knee-deep in water :—

"It being represented by the baillies that there being considerable breatches made by the late extraordinar tyd and storm upon the long peer, highway at the playfield, and upon the wall opposite to Mr Sheddon's yeard dyck which defends the High Street from the storm, and that the repairing therof could not admit delay: Therefor they have ordered to mend these breatches in pairt, and that the repair is still going on. The council approve of the baillies conduct in the said matter, and authorizes the baillies to

proceed to do what's absolutely necessar for preventing fardar breatches."

Some members of council are taken to task for remissness in attendance at church :—

"23 *April* 1734.

"The council, considering that a great pairt of the council do not frequent and keip the council seat on the Lord's Day, to the dishonour of the town : Therefore they ratify all former Acts theranent, and of new enact that the haill council (except such as have been baillies and the present Dean of Gild) keep and frequent the said seat each Lord's Day they come to kirk, under the penalty of six shilling Scots for each transgression, with their best equipage, and particularly hats; and that they have the same equipage when they attend the council."

On 23d June 1735 there occurs the following melancholy account of profitless expenditure in searching for coal :—

"The council appointed last council day for auditing the accounts anent the tryle of the coal report. That they met and revised the said accounts, and found the charge extends to one hundred and fifty-two pound eight shilling and ten-pennies Scots money, and the discharge to one hundred and fifty-one pound fourteen shilling money foresaid; but remark that there are three articles of the discharge—one for five pound eleven shilling, one other for twelve shilling, and the third for twenty pound thirteen shilling—for which there is no voucher. Secondly, that there is twenty-six pound ten shilling sixpennies of said discharge expended upon a new tryle after the tryle on the old sink was given over. Thirdly, that the haill materials are rouped and sold and included in the charge, except the winless roape and

three cutt of deals, which are a part of the discharge. The council appoint the managers to attend the next council day and to answer the remarks."

With the above the series of extracts from the burgh records of Culross may terminate. From this date downwards the entries are absolutely devoid of interest for the general reader.

CHAPTER XX.

THE KIRK-SESSION RECORDS FROM 1715 TO 1776.

MR CUTHBERT having died in the preceding month of October, a call is given to Mr Logan of Torryburn on 12th June 1716. He is said to have been a man of considerable ability; but he is principally remembered for his zeal in the prosecution of witches, for which the above-named parish used to be so famous. He was a man of good family, being a brother of Logan of Logan in the west country, and he himself ultimately succeeded to the estate. He married the Hon. Mary Colville, sister of Robert, third and last Lord Colville of Ochiltree.

Mr Logan at first refused the call from Culross; but an appeal was taken to the Synod of Fife, and from thence to the General Assembly, which ordered him to be translated from Torryburn. He was accordingly admitted minister of the first charge of Culross on 17th July 1717; and as Mr Moore was translated to Stirling in February 1718, Mr Logan had for a time the entire control of the parish.

Here are some of the session cases during his moderatorship :—

"22 *July* 1718.

"Isobell Billeanie, spouse to John Paxton, complained of Isobell Micklejohn, spouse to John Dalgleish, flesher in Culross, saying she had called her witch, and bad her goe to the devil and come back again. This she did before John Gow and Adam Johnston, fleshers in Culross. The session appoint them to be summoned against next session."

"29 *July* 1718.

"Bessie Thomson being called upon by the minister to be rebuked, did not rise up to be rebuked, but sat still."

Bessie Thomson, like Bessie May in the old Scotch saying, "kept her seat," and disregarded Mr Logan's summons. He was not, however, to be trifled with, and after summoning her once or twice ineffectually, he pronounced against her the sentence of lesser excommunication, by which she was debarred of all Church privileges. This step at last brought her to an acknowledgment of her delinquencies before the congregation.

"9 *Sept.* 1718.

"There was collected at the church door on Sabbath last, for the Protestants in Lithuania, according to the Act of the General Assembly, seventy-three pund and eleven shillings Scots."

The following case would afford a splendid opportunity to Mr Logan for keeping in exercise the zeal which he had displayed so strenuously in Torryburn in prosecuting witches and other practisers of occult arts. It illustrates a strange phase of popular super-

stition, which ascribed the possession of supernatural powers to persons bereft of their bodily or mental faculties :—

"14 *October* 1718.

"John Harroer, tenant in Balgownie, came in before the session, and alleged that he was very much lesed by George Micklejohn, his neighbour, whose house was broken by thieves in the night time the last week. He had recourse to a dumbie upon Sabbath was eight days, who, refusing to answer them that day, they went to him upon the Munday, desiring him to make discovery who it was who broke his house and stole his goods. The dumbie, upon some communing with the said Micklejohn, blamed the said Harroer and his family, and wrote down the said John Harroer's name as the thief; whereupon, without telling whom they suspected, or the grounds of their suspicion, applied to Balgownie, as a justice of the peace, for an order to search the neighbourhood. Balgownie gave them an order. They add that they hear the paper which the dumbie wrote is in Balgownie's hands. Baillie Robertson says that the justices of the peace desire the session may take this affair to their consideration, as far as they may think proper for them. The session, hearing this order, the said George Micklejohn, Jean Anderson his wife, with Andrew Anderson, shoemaker in Culross, to be cited against the next session."

"27 *October* 1718.

"George Micklejohn, and Jean Anderson his spouse, compeared. He denyed that he went to the dumbie on the Sabbath-day, but confessed he consulted him on the Munday about the stealing of his goods. The session, considering the heinousness of this crime now confessed by the said Micklejohn, and the many evil consequences thereof, the aggravation of this his crime was held out to him, and he exhorted to repentance. The session appoint him to compear before the congregation and be rebuked on Sabbath come a fourteen days."

"9 *December* 1718.

"Ordered for horse-hire to Dunfermline, eight shillings [Scots]."

The war regarding the seats still rages, and the lairds of Blairhall and Balgownie present a bill of suspension to the Court of Session to overturn the Acts of the kirk-session in regard to the allocation which they had made. The session resolve to give in answers to the bill, and order that Colonel Erskine, then in Edinburgh, be written to, to deliver these answers.

On 6th May 1719, Mr John Geddes was ordained minister of the second charge, which had been vacated the preceding year by the translation of Mr Moore to Stirling.

Another of those curious cases in reference to the offence of "charming" comes up on 20th October 1719. One may well be astonished at so much of the time of a kirk-session being taken up in investigating such trumpery matters as are here detailed. The first entry may be quoted in its entirety:—

"This day Charles Rid, tennent in Blankierie, and his wife, compeared before the session, complaining to the session that James Mathie in the Bauld had slandered his wife, in so far as he charged her with using charms, and said before witnesses that he could prove her guilty of the samen. This Charles Rid offers to prove against James Mathie, and desired that the said James Mathie might be summoned to compear before this session the next session day to answer to this charge; and he named Robert Davidson in Kirkton, and John Gibson, son to James Gibson, in West Grange, David Finlayson in Brankston, and Archibald Strachan in

the Hole, as witnesses to be cited to the next session to prove this charge against James Mathie: whereupon the session appoints the said James Mathie and the said witnesses to be cited against the next session."

One of the witnesses adduced in this case

"Deponed that he heard James Mathie say that the said Janet Morison,[1] while going to churn her milk, used to go about her house, that she might be the first foot, and when she gave any person a drink of milk, she always put salt in it; as also that he heard the said James Mathie say that the foresaid Janet Morison would not milk her kine in the same place where they calved, but in a certain place destined by her for that end."

Mrs Reid or Rid had evidently been a superstitious woman, who set great store by omens and imaginary influences,—a tendency which her neighbour, James Mathie, charitably misconstrued and confounded with the using of divination and magic arts. To be accused of "charming" is a charge that few women would resent; but to be so in the sense in which it is used in the present instance, would at that period have been tantamount to an accusation of witchcraft, or having communings with Satan. Mr Mathie at last admits that he had slandered Mrs Reid, and accordingly receives a severe rebuke. He seems to have been allowed to adduce witnesses to prove the practice on the part of Mrs Reid of divination and unhallowed rites; but their evidence is of such an uncertain and hearsay character, that even in the estimation of Mr Logan's kirk-session it cannot be

[1] Reid's wife.

sustained, and the goodwife of Blinkeerie escapes without any admonition in reference to her own conduct.

"15 *Decr.* 1719.

"Coll. Erskine desired that the guinea given by him on Sabbath last might be presently distributed to poor people, besides other two guineas he gave to be distributed among other persons."

"5 *Jany.* 1720.

"The session being informed that Robert Rolland's boat should have crossed some Sabbath lately in time of sermon; they therefore appoint that Robert Rolland, John Tulloch, and James Younger, his servants, be cited against the next session, to know what was their urgent reason."

A quaint and not uninteresting statement of the regulations issued previous to a celebration of the Holy Communion is presented in a minute of kirk-session dated 7th August 1722. It appears from it that the services on Sunday commenced at a very early hour; and in addition to those in the church, a tent was erected in the churchyard, where discourses were delivered to the general public. I have already given some account of these sacramental occasions in the olden time. It also appears from this minute that the expressions "the Black" and "the White Colonel" were no mere phrases of vulgar usage, but were employed alike on serious and on ordinary occasions as terms of the highest respect.

Several entries in the early months of 1723 present a curious specimen of haggling on the part of the kirk-session in reference to a surgical case. A poor woman, Helen Aiton by name, is afflicted with

a swelling on her leg, and as she has "nothing to bestow upon doctors for curing the same," the kirk-session "appointed two of their number to speak to George Makarthur, chyrurgeon, thereanent; and if he would engage to cure it, to desire him to come to the next session and acquaint them what he would take for his pains." In the meantime a collection in church is ordered to be made "for curing Helen Aiton's leg," which, we are informed, "was intimat" and "duly observed." Makarthur undertakes to cure the limb "for a hundred merks, which the session refused to give, but promised him fifty shillings sterling, and two or three crowns more when the leg was perfectly cured, wherewith the said George was content, and accordingly the bargain was concluded." After the lapse of six weeks he claims his guerdon, on the ground of having satisfactorily accomplished his task. This the session refuse to give till they are satisfied of the truth of his assertion, and they accordingly empower a committee to visit the patient and report. As the result of their inspection, these announce that a partial cure had been effected; but the cautious church officials are not yet satisfied, and withhold a portion of the remuneration till such time as the poor woman herself shall appear before them and declare herself perfectly cured. This she ultimately does, and the surgeon receives his fee.

Here is a curious entry regarding the kirk-session's interposition on behalf of the girdlemakers monopoly:—

"9 *April* 1723.

"This day Alexr. Cowie having produced a testimonial given by the session to John Watson some time ago, and complaining that the testimonial was not full enough, and desiring that the session would make it more full and ample, the session in the meantime being informed by a paper given in by the incorporation of the girdlesmiths that the said John Watson is guilty of gross perjury in making girdles in Kilmarnock or anywhere else out of the town, contrary to solemn oath whereby he engaged to the said corporation not to make girdles anywhere but in this place, they order his testimonial to be torn; and they desire the ministers to write to the Reverend Mr Wright, minister at Kilmarnock, where the said Watson now resides, and acquaint him with the case and carriage of the said Watson, and to desire of the said minister to give him no more encouragement than he deserves."

"19 *Jany.* 1725.

"The people in the Valleyfield and about the east end of the town of Culross that had been guilty of gathering peats on the Lord's Day being summoned and called, did compear. They confessed their sin, and promised amendment. They were severely rebuked for their breach of the Sabbath, exhorted to repent, and dismissed."

The litigious and troublesome character of the Black Colonel appears in the following:—

"22 *July* 1729.

"The session, considering that Colonel Erskine has postponed and delayed his paying up the money contained in Sir George Bruce's mortification, conform to the Lords of Session decreet, these three years bygone, notwithstanding of his frequent and repeated promises to settle that affair, and judging now that they cannot in duty delay it any longer, they therefore appoint their Thesaurares, in caice

the Colonel do not settle that affair betwixt and dispensing of the Lord's Supper, that they immediately thereafter cause put the diligence already raised in execution against him on their peril, as they will be answerable to the session; and that they acquaint the Colonel what they are appointed to do."

"7 *Octr.* 1729.

"The session appointed the elders to collect for the harbour of St Andrews as soon as possible."

Here is a singular certificate granted by the session:—

"24 *Novr.* 1730.

"William Young, son to James Young, indweller in Culross, having had his ear bit off by a horse some time ago, and the fact being notour to the whole place, came in and desired that this might be marked and attested in the session records, that he might have the benefit of an extract testifying that he had not lost his ear for any crime, but as aforesaid; and the session granted him his desire as just and reasonable, which is attested by

"Allan Logan, *Minr.*
"John Geddes, *Minr.*"

To lose one's ears by cropping, or to have them nailed to the pillory, was not yet wholly in desuetude as a punishment. The remembrance of so cruel an infliction seems to be preserved in the saying, "He's no worth his lugs"—that is, he's not worth the trouble of making him lose his ears.

On 21st September 1731, "Hamet the Turk" appears, by his own admission to the session, as the seducer of Anna Robertson. Hamet's nationality and religion seem to have been regarded as aggravations of Anna's delinquency. He had been residing

for some time in Culross, but in what capacity is not stated.

In the year 1733 a rather serious collision occurred between the kirk-session and the heritors of Culross. Mr Logan had declined much in health, and expectations were entertained that ere long the first charge might be vacant. A proposal by the session at this time to increase the number of elders was regarded by the heritors as part of a scheme to deprive them of their just weight in the election of a minister; and they accordingly, under the leadership of George Preston, younger of Valleyfield, present a protest against the contemplated increase in the eldership. The kirk-session issue a reply, and have clearly the best of the argument in the dispute with the heritors. How it was settled does not satisfactorily appear; but we find from the burgh records (May and June 1733), that at the request of Mr Logan himself an assistant and successor was appointed to him at this time in the person of Mr Alexander Webster, afterwards so famous as a leader in the Church, and the originator of the Scottish Ministers' Widows' Fund. The nomination is made by the magistrates and heritors, and the appointment seems altogether to have been a harmonious affair. Not a word is yet spoken of the rights of patrons. Mr Logan died shortly afterwards in the month of September in the same year; but there is no formal notice in the session-book of Mr Webster's ordination.

The following extracts record the proceedings

taken by the session against a drunken fellow who had disturbed the congregation at the tent-preaching in the churchyard on the Monday after the Sacrament :—

"29 *July* 1736.

"The session being informed that John Norrie, one of Balgownie's labouring servants, upon Monday last, after the Sacrament, disturbed divine worship by riding among the people that were hearing sermon at the tent in the churchyard, and cursing, swearing, and blaspheming the name of God: Therefore they order their officer to summon him to the next session."

"31 *August* 1736.

"John Norrie being summoned and called, did not compear, but sent his excuse with the officer that he could not attend this day, they being very throng with the harvest: Therefore the session delayed this affair till the harvest be over."

On 5th October 1736, John Norrie appears, and witnesses are examined. One of these, after detailing some particulars of the outrage, states—

"That he followed the said John Norrie towards James Anderson's, where John Couston took him off the horse, together with William Anderson, John Norrie's neighbour; that the said John Norrie would have mounted the horse and returned again to the tent, but was hindered by John Masterton and William Anderson; and declares that he himself, at the desire of William Anderson, took the horse home, and that upon his return he met John Norrie at the chapel barn, where he received a snuff from him, and so they parted; and this is the whole he knows. The session delayed the further consideration of this affair until the next session."

Ultimately Norrie appears before the congregation,

and receives a public rebuke for his behaviour in the churchyard.

On 16th November 1736 the session send an intimation, through their officer, to an obstinate offender, named William Christie, that they had been ordered by the Presbytery "to pronounce against him the highest sentence of excommunication;" and that if he still continued obdurate, they would put this order in force. The higher excommunication involved, besides the deprivation of Church privileges, an enforced withdrawal on the part of the other parishioners from the society of the excommunicated person. To eat or drink, converse, or even pray with him, was regarded as a heinous offence, to be punished with the severest ecclesiastical censure.[1] In this case the threat has its effect on William Christie, who at last makes his appearance before the session, and subsequently before the congregation, for three successive Sundays, to be rebuked.

Mr Webster receives a call to the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh. The session express their regret at losing the benefits of his ministry, and give a reluctant consent to his translation.

Mr, or rather Dr Webster, was a man of no mean ability, and well deserved the somewhat lengthy manifesto which the Culross kirk-session thought fit to issue and put on record. As the minister of the

[1] See extract from session records of Newburgh (1647), in Laing's 'Lindores Abbey and its Burgh of Newburgh,' p. 206, where several elders of Newburgh are subjected to discipline for having thus countenanced a contumacious offender.

Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh, and the leader for many years of the Evangelical party in the Church of Scotland, he probably exercised a greater influence than almost any other clergyman of his time, not excepting even his successor, the celebrated Dr Erskine, grandson of the Black Colonel. One special movement that he originated was the establishment of the Widows' Fund of the Church of Scotland. He married, when at Culross, Miss Mary Erskine, daughter of Colonel John Erskine, generally known as the White Colonel, and brother of Sir Charles Erskine of Alva, Bart. Her mother was Euphemia Cochrane, daughter of William and Lady Mary Cochrane, and granddaughter of Alexander, second Earl of Kincardine. Her maternal aunt, Anne Cochrane, was the wife of Sir George Preston, fourth Baronet, and mother of Sir Charles and Sir Robert Preston, fifth and sixth Baronets of Valleyfield. A curious story is told of Dr Webster's courtship. He had undertaken to plead with Miss Erskine on behalf of a friend, whose modesty did not permit him to urge his suit in person. Faithfully and earnestly did the Doctor perform this behest, but the effect was rather different from what he had anticipated. The lady, who had remained deaf to all his importunities on behalf of another, at last archly remarked, "You would come better speed, Sandy, if you would speak for yoursel'," — a hint which he did not fail to take, and the two were shortly afterwards married. I know not whether it is in connection with them that an anecdote is told of

a worthy Edinburgh clergyman of the last century who had espoused a lady of rank. He was remonstrating with his congregation on the impropriety of having much cooking or an abundant dinner on the Sabbath. To clench his argument, and demonstrate that he practised as he preached, he assured them, "As for me and my honourable spouse, we just hae a skirl in the pan!"—that is to say, a chop or steak done in the frying-pan—something that "skirls" or screeches in the preparation.

According to Dr Alexander Carlyle's account in his Autobiography, Dr Webster's convivial powers were rather extraordinary. Such qualities were apparently not considered derogatory in those days, even for the leader of the Evangelical party in the Church. He died in 1784, at the age of seventy-six.

Two collections for Edinburgh charities are thus recorded:—

"15 *March* 1737.

"The collection for the Orphans' Hospital at Edinburgh was made at the church door last Lord's Day, according to the Synod's appointment, which amounted to sixty-one pound thirteen shillings and eight pennies Scots, which the session appoints to be given to Mr Webster, and desired him to deliver the same to the moderator of the Presbytery, upon his granting a receipt thereof."

"6 *Septr.* 1737.

"There was collected Sabbath last, for the Infirmary Hospital at Edinburgh, twelve pound 10 shillings 4 pence Scots money, which the session appointed to be given to Mr Geddes, that he may deliver the same to the moderator of the Presbytery."

The Black Colonel was a very litigious man, and the respect in which one has hitherto been accustomed to hold him is considerably diminished when we find him contesting so long and frequently the claims made on him for payment of moneys connected with charities and the relief of the poor. It would seem, indeed, that his litigious spirit, like the ruling passion, was strong in death, as he is reported to have expressed himself thus in his last illness: "I hae ten gude gangin' cases in the Court of Session; and that idiot Jock, my son, will be settlin' them a' in a month after my death!" John Erskine, the Colonel's son, and so celebrated as an authority on Scots law, was a man of an amiable and peace-loving disposition, very different from his father.

"20 *June* 1738.

"The session being informed that several young men and boys—viz., Andrew Spittal, William Bray, James Young, George Younger, John Aiton, and Adam Paterson—had broken the Sabbath-day by sailing up and down in a boat after sermon, they appointed their officer to summon them to the next session."

"4 *July* 1738.

"The young men and boys mentioned in the former minute having been summoned and called, did compear. They acknowledged they were sorrowful for their sin, and promised amendment. They were rebuked, exhorted, and dismissed."

A curious case is recorded regarding the two neglected sons of the laird of Castlehill, the property now known as Dunimarle. The Blaws of Castlehill

were about the oldest family in the Culross district. They seem to have come originally from the Low Countries, to judge from their name, which is clearly the same as the Dutch *blaauw*, or *blue*—just as in English and other languages we find the surnames of Black, White, Gray, and Red or Reid, derived from the complexion or external appearance of an individual. As regards Blaw, moreover, we find it under the form of *Blaeu*, *Blaeuw*, and *Blauw* (Latinised into *Cæsius*, blue or azure), as the name of a celebrated family of Dutch publishers and authors, whose maps, and more especially the 'Atlas Major' of John Blaeu, a magnificent geographical work of the seventeenth century, have rendered them famous throughout the world. It is quite possible that the Blaws of Culross belonged to the same stock, and had emigrated from Holland to Scotland, there being in those days a great connection between the countries. We find the Blaws, as lairds of Castlehill and the lands of West Kirk, repeatedly referred to in the earliest volume of the burgh records of Culross, which comprises the last years of the sixteenth century. A daughter of Blaw of Castlehill married Archibald Primrose, the first proprietor of that name who held the lands of Burnbrae, near Kincardine, which remained for upwards of 200 years in his family, till they were incorporated a few years ago with the Tulliallan estate by purchase from the Misses Primrose, the last descendants of the first laird. The great Sir George Bruce of Carnock married the daughter of Archibald

Primrose and Margaret Blaw, and the blue blood of the Blaws thus flows in the veins of two distinguished families of the Scottish Peerage—those of the Earl of Elgin and the Earl of Rosebery. Lord Elgin is lineally descended from Sir George Bruce and Margaret Primrose; Lord Rosebery from Archibald Primrose and Margaret Blaw.

George Blaw of Castlehill, who as descendant of the original stock held the property in the early part of the eighteenth century, executed an entail of the estate in 1710. A relative of his (whether sister, daughter, or niece, I know not), named Christian Blaw, married Laurence Johnston, ancestor of the present Mr Johnston of Sands, and her brother settled as a surgeon in London. George Blaw had three sons — John, Daniel, and James. Of these John, as the eldest, inherited the estate, and married a daughter of Mr Dundas of Blair, but proved a very bad husband. A great moral deterioration, indeed, seems to have gradually been characterising the Blaw family, and their fortunes were now also rapidly beginning to decline. Let us hear the miserable disclosure in the kirk-session records:—

"17 *July* 1738.

"The session having under their serious consideration a complaint made to them by Jean Dewar, on the ground of Castlehill, bearing that there are two sons of John Blaw's of Castlehill who ly in her house, and that they are altogether destitute of anything to live upon, and that they are a very heavy burden on the neighbourhood, and destitute of education, and that their father will not contribute nor give anything towards their maintenance and schooling, although

he be in the full possession of his estate—they agree that a proper letter be wrote to Mr Alexr. Boswel, advocate, to draw a bill to the Lords of Session thereanent, and recommend to the magistrates to concur in signing the letter; and appoint Colonel Erskine and Clerk Halkerston to meet with Castlehill, and to acquaint him of the session's intention, to the end he may prevent the ingiving the bill."

"1 *August* 1738.

"Colonel Erskine and Clerk Halkerston, in consequence of the former minute of the date the 17th of July, report that they discoursed Castlehill in the terms of the former minute, and acquainted him with the session's resolution thereon; and that he advanced he had maintained the children till January last, and the reason he gave for not continuing so to do was, that his whole rents were for the last year evicted by creditors; besides, that the Lords of Session had granted an aliment for his wife and children upon their friend's application, in virtue of which he conceived her bound to aliment them, and added that he had no money at the time to maintain them: upon which the Colonel offered to advance meal and other necessaries for their present subsistence, till such time as some course may be taken upon for their maintenance and education, a part of which the Colonel has already advanced, and given in to the hands of Jean Dewar for the ends foresaid, upon the faith of Castlehill's promise that he should reimburse the Colonel; and in case, against the first of Novr. next, proper measures be not taken for their maintenance and education, the session will do what's proper."

The better side of the Black Colonel's character comes out here. We hear no more about John Blaw or his family in the session minutes, but the worst part of his history is yet to come. He had extensive transactions in the way of fruit and farm pro-

duce with two individuals of the name of Cairns—father and son—and Blaw imagined, probably not without reason, that they had been defrauding him, and more especially had been helping themselves unduly to the apples in Castlehill orchard. One day, on the occasion of Clackmannan fair, the three met in a hostelry in that town, and a bitter altercation ensued. Young Cairns, it is said, avowed the robbery of the fruit, and held up in insulting effrontery an apple to Blaw's face. The latter, thus goaded, drew a knife and wounded severely the young man. Old Cairns interposed to save his son, and in doing so, received a mortal wound from Blaw. The son recovered, but the father died. John Blaw was tried, convicted, and hanged at Stirling. It is said that previous to his trial he made over the property of Castlehill to his brother Daniel, to avoid its forfeiture. The two sons, for neglecting whom he had been summoned before the kirk-session, seem before this to have gone abroad, where they died, leaving no trace. It was said that Daniel Blaw or some other of the relatives had made an arrangement by which John Blaw was cut down and resuscitated, after being apparently hanged. A "dummy" was then dressed up in his clothes, and deposited with some stones in a coffin, which was placed in a hearse, conveyed to Culross, and buried in the West Kirkyard. Blaw himself had meantime been conveyed to a safe concealment, from which, after a little while, he contrived to escape to Holland. There, it is said, he ultimately died.

Such is the story that is told, but it cannot be averred as a fact; and indeed I have been assured by an old man whose father remembered the occurrence perfectly, that John Blaw was certainly hanged and buried. It appears, however, that some such tale had reached the ears of his wife, who could not be persuaded in consequence that he was really dead. To satisfy her the grave was opened, and the buckles from Blaw's shoes, in which with the rest of his clothes he had been buried, were taken out and brought to his widow. The shoes themselves were allowed to remain for a long time outside the grave in the burying-ground of the West Church. The execution took place in 1769, so that John Blaw must have been, at the time of perpetrating the murder, considerably advanced in life.

Besides the two sons already mentioned, who had disappeared, John Blaw had an only daughter, Jane or Jeanie Blaw, who succeeded him in the estate of Castlehill, and married Mr Peter Begbie, factor to Sir Robert Preston. She predeceased her husband, who, after her death, assumed a right of proprietorship over Castlehill, and might have long exercised it unchallenged, had he not managed to give mortal offence to Mr Dundas of Blair. The latter was in the habit of crossing over from Blair through one of the Castlehill fields, and Mr Begbie objected to his doing so. Mr Dundas was so incensed that he conveyed intelligence to Daniel Blaw, immediate younger brother to John Blaw, and uncle of Mrs Begbie, that his niece's husband was wrongfully enjoying his in-

heritance. Daniel Blaw was then residing in Belfast, and he forthwith instituted legal proceedings, which compelled Begbie to surrender to him the property, which was inherited after his death by his daughter Mrs Burdon. The latter was succeeded in her turn by a daughter, who became the wife of a Captain Sinclair, and who, nearly half a century ago, sold Castlehill to Lady Keith of Tulliallan. Some years afterwards, Lady Keith disposed of Castlehill to Miss Erskine, sister of Sir John Erskine of Torry, whose death had rendered it necessary for her to remove to another residence. She made extensive additions to the house—comprising, among others, a lofty tower, with a fine gateway and a long rampart-wall—all of which have contributed to give the *entourage* a thoroughly baronial aspect. She, moreover, changed the name from Castlehill to *Dunimarle*—an appellation which the place is said to have had in ancient times, though it is only known by the former in all records subsequent to the Reformation. Both epithets have nearly the same meaning, though that of Dunimarle, which signifies in Gaelic "the castle on the projecting rock by the sea," expresses with much greater fulness and precision the nature of the locality. Traces of the foundations of the old castle are still to be seen on the summit of the lofty promontory which extends southwards from the mansion of Dunimarle, and terminates in a sandstone precipice, which forms a perilously projecting angle on the road by the seashore from Culross to Kincardine. It has been surmised that this castle belonged to the famous Mac-

duff, as Thane of Fife, a descendant of whom founded Culross Abbey in the beginning of the thirteenth century. It has even been alleged that it was the scene of the massacre of the wife and children, which the genius of Shakespeare has immortalised. But this is a very unlikely hypothesis, seeing that there is good reason to believe that the destruction of Macduff's family took place at a stronghold of his in the east of Fife, at or near Wemyss Castle.

After settling at Dunimarle, Miss Erskine became the wife of Admiral Shairp, and bore thenceforth the title of Mrs Shairp-Erskine. Both are now dead. A short time before her own demise, she erected on the slope below her mansion a neat Episcopal chapel in the Early English style, which she endowed by her will, and of which she appointed the Rev. William Bruce the incumbent. She provided also that the house of Dunimarle, which this clergyman now occupies, and which contains a number of interesting and valuable works of art, should be open to the public at certain times, as a sort of local museum for Culross. Visitors are admitted to view these twice a-week during the summer months.

It only remains to say a few words regarding the Blaw family. After the execution of John Blaw, Castlehill was little inhabited by any of these, and was let to a series of tenants—Mr Begbie and his wife residing in the small house now occupied by the Dunimarle gardener, and which then bore the name of Castlehill Cottage. Mrs Sinclair, who sold the property to Lady Keith, left no issue, and the

representation of the family then devolved on the descendants of James, the youngest brother of John Blaw. He had three sons—George, James, and William—and one daughter, Ellen. George died in England, without issue; and James, who was never married, was drowned in the English Channel. William married, and had an only son, Mr William Blaw, who now resides in Glasgow, and is the present representative of this ancient Culross family. Besides the proprietors of Castlehill, the name of Blaw was borne by several other families in Culross, all probably connected with them in greater or less propinquity. Not one person bearing the name now remains either in the town or district.

It seemed desirable at this point to introduce the above history, and I now return to the few extracts that still remain to be made from the kirk-session records.

"24 *Septr.* 1739.

"After prayer, there was given in to the session a discharge from Mr Alexander, collector, of the collections for Bobi and Villars, to Mr William Geddes, writer at Edinburgh, for eighteen pound Scots, which was collected here for the Protestants in these places, and sent to the said William Geddes, to the said Alexander, which discharge was given to the treasurer."

Bobi and Villars are probably the same as Bobbio and Villar-Bobbio, two Waldensian towns in Piedmont.

On 25th February 1740 a call is given to Mr Turner of Tulliallan to supply the vacancy in the

first charge of Culross, but the translation was not accomplished.

On 7th September 1741 is the following entry :—

"Upon the 3d day of Septr. 1741, Mr Henry Hardie, preacher of the Gospel, was ordained minister in this parish by the Presbytery of Dunfermling."

Mr Hardie, thus appointed to the first charge, proved a faithful and conscientious minister; but his career was prematurely cut short by a decline eleven years afterwards, at the age of thirty-six. He was the father of Dr Thomas Hardie, minister of Haddo's Hole, and Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh. A daughter, Janet, married Mr Liston, minister of Aberdour, and was mother of the Rev. Henry Liston of Ecclesmachan, who was the father of Robert Liston, the celebrated surgeon, and David Liston, late Professor of Hebrew in Edinburgh University.

The following entry exhibits the Culross kirk-session in a new light — that of encouragers of domestic industry, and promoters of a spirit of independence and self-help. The linen trade was at this time very active in Scotland (see Laing's Lindores Abbey and its Burgh of Newburgh, p. 300) :—

"6 *Octr.* 1741.

"The session has agreed to cause purchase an hundredweight of lint, in order to be distributed to such of the poor of the parish as are able to spin, and appoints the said poor to return the yearn to such as the session shall name. The session appoints John Robertson and James Blelok, kirk

treasurers, to buy the lint out of the poors money, and to cause it to be prepared and given out in parcels, to pay for the spinning, and allow the treasurers a penny sterling for every spindle of yarn that shall be spun and returned to them."

The two following entries record as many fast-days ordered on account of the successes of the Pretender. The first had been previous to, and the second after, the battle of Prestonpans:—

"3 *Septr.* 1745.

"Wednesday last was observed as a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, on account of the present rebellion in favour of a Popish Pretender, in obedience to the appointment of the Presbytery."

"13 *Novr.* 1745.

"Wednesday last was observed as a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, on account of the unexpected success of the rebels, by appointment of the Presbytery."

Between 4th November 1746 and the 23d, is interpolated the following entry: "The Rev. Mr John Geddes was removed by death on the tenth day of Novr. 1746." The session named a committee of their number to meet with the heritors and town council to choose a successor to the vacant second charge; but this resolution was destined to be quite inept as regarded the retention of the right of election in their hands. Hitherto, apparently, the Black Colonel, who was legally patron of the first charge, had never exercised his right—being on principle, as a zealous Presbyterian of the Evangelical party, strongly opposed to the Act of Queen Anne, which

restored patrons to the rights over benefices which they had enjoyed previous to the Revolution. Indeed in his case there would have been a special inconsistency in his so availing himself, seeing that in 1735 he made one of a deputation sent by the General Assembly to London to endeavour to procure a repeal of the obnoxious Act. But after his death, his son John Erskine of Carnock, the celebrated lawyer, seems to have made over the patronage of the first charge to Charles Cochrane of Culross, elder brother of Thomas Cochrane, who succeeded in 1758 to the earldom of Dundonald. At all events, we find him in 1752 presenting to the living Dr John Erskine, son of the lawyer, and grandson of the Black Colonel.

The right on the part of Mr Cochrane to the patronage of the first charge could not well be disputed; but as regarded that of the second, which he also claimed, his title to it was not so clear. As the second charge had been created and endowed by the voluntary grants and contributions of the heritors and congregation, it seemed only in accordance with justice that they should hold the right of presentation. But the Court of Session had ruled, long before, that in the case of the formation of a second charge, unless the patronage had been expressly reserved at the time of its constitution, it accrued to the patron of the first charge. So also it was held in the present instance; and though Mr William Trotter, Mr Cochrane's first nominee, was not appointed, the Court sustained Mr Cochrane's

claims not only to the patronage of the second charge, but likewise to the stipends that had accrued, or might accrue, during the vacancy. Mr James Stoddart was ordained to the cure by the ecclesiastical authorities in November 1748, and the judgment of the Court in 1751 in Mr Cochrane's favour included not only the stipend which had fallen due prior to Mr Stoddart's settlement, but likewise what might accrue afterwards up to the final adjustment of matters by the settlement of a presentee in accordance with the rights of the patron. Mr Cochrane died in September 1752, leaving certain individuals as his trustees. Mr Stoddart's position subsequent to the decision of the Court of Session in the preceding year seems to have been a very peculiar one, as the ecclesiastical authorities regarded him as the duly appointed incumbent of the charge, whilst the civil court pronounced him to have no legal right. It appears, indeed, that the parishioners of Culross compensated Mr Stoddart for his services by a voluntary contribution. He availed himself of his anomalous position to plead it in excuse of his absence from the famous Assembly of 1752, which adjudicated on the Inverkeithing case, and deposed Mr Gillespie, the minister of Carnock. At last, in June 1753, he resigned his charge, and accepted the same year a call from the parish of Kirkintilloch, which had been rendered vacant by the translation from thence of Dr Erskine to the first charge of Culross. Mr Robert Rolland, son of John Rolland, maltster and bailie of Culross, was now presented by

Mr Cochrane's trustees to the second charge, and ordained its minister on 18th July 1754.

By the death of Mr Hardie in 1752, the first charge became vacant, and a presentation to supply the vacancy was issued in August 1752 by Charles Cochrane, as already mentioned, in favour of Mr John Erskine, the Black Colonel's grandson, and then minister of Kirkintilloch. He was ordained in the following month of February; and as he is, perhaps, the most distinguished man that was connected with the ministry of Culross, it may not be unadvisable to enter into some particulars regarding his history, for which I am indebted to his Life by the Rev. Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, long celebrated as a leader of the Church.

Dr Erskine was the only child, by the first marriage, of John Erskine of Carnock, son and successor of the Black Colonel, with Margaret Melville, daughter of the Hon. James Melville of Bargawie. He inherited all the estates which his grandfather had purchased of the possessions of the Kincardine family, with the exception of that of Tulliallan. This, along with the estate of Cardross in Menteith, which had been purchased by John Erskine at a judicial sale, was bequeathed by him to his son James, the eldest of the three which he had by his second marriage, with Miss Stirling of Keir. Dr Erskine's maternal grandfather was the second son of George, fourth Lord Melville, an eminent Presbyterian; and his brother afterwards succeeded to the titles both of Leven and Melville. Dr Erskine was

further connected with the family by the marriage of his paternal aunt, Miss Erskine, with Alexander, Earl of Leven and Melville. Having devoted himself to the ministry, he received his licence in 1743 from the Presbytery of Dunblane; and he preached his first sermon in Torryburn Church, of which he was afterwards patron. He had a call to Tulliallan, of which his father was patron, but declined, and was shortly afterwards presented to the Church of Kirkintilloch. From this, as already mentioned, he was transferred in 1753 to Culross.

The entries in the session-book are now becoming very devoid of any interest, and during the whole of Dr Erskine's incumbency scarcely anything is recorded that merits being extracted. In 1758 he was translated to the New Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh, on the same day that Dr Robertson was appointed to the Old Greyfriars, whither also Dr Erskine was transferred in 1767 as his colleague. It is well known that they both lived together in the greatest amity, a circumstance by no means of general occurrence in the case of collegiate charges, and in the present rendered still more surprising by the fact of their each heading separate parties in the Church — Dr Robertson being the leader of the Moderate, as Dr Erskine was of the Evangelical party.

Dr Erskine married in 1746 the Hon. Christian Mackay, third daughter, by his third wife, of George, third Lord Reay. He had a large family of nine sons and five daughters; but of these he was only

survived by three daughters and one son, David, who inherited the estate of Carnock. His eldest daughter, Mary, married Dr Charles Stuart of Dunearn, great-grandson of the Governor of Stirling Castle in the reign of James II., a brother of the then Earl of Moray.

On Dr Erskine's translation to Edinburgh, the vacancy in the first charge of Culross was supplied that same year, by the promotion to it from the second charge of the Rev. Robert Rolland. Mr Alexander Moodie, "preacher of the Gospel in Edinburgh," was then in 1759 presented by Charles Cochrane's trustees, and ordained to the second charge in September of that year. He remained little over two years in Culross, and was, in December 1761, transferred to Riccarton, in Ayrshire. Here he attained a celebrity of a peculiar kind by his pugnacious disposition, and has been immortalised by Burns as one of the heroes in the "Twa Herds, or the Holy Tulzie." He is said to have been a man of rather a savage nature, though extremely fervid in his religious views; and he is said also to have had a turn for practical joking.

The second charge continued vacant for more than a year after the translation of Mr Moodie to Riccarton, and was filled up in May 1763 by the ordination of Mr William M'Leish.

Infanticide must have become fearfully common about this time, as we find engrossed in the session register the Act of William and Mary (19th July 1690), ordering that a woman who had been delivered

of a child that was dead or missing, and could not show that she had informed any one previously of her situation, should be reputed the murderer of the child; and also a deliverance of the General Assembly, ordering this Act of Parliament to be read from the pulpit of every parish church.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, and onward into the nineteenth, a peculiar phase of Scottish life develops itself in the proclivity for clandestine, or, as they were generally termed, *half-mark* marriages—so called, I presume, from the fee which used to be charged by the person or *parson* officiating. About the beginning of the present century a favourite *half-mark* chapel was that in Paul's Work, Edinburgh, of which the Rev. Joseph Robertson was minister. This respectable individual earned for a long time a handsome living by marrying couples (at a charge something greater than half a mark) without requiring from them a certificate of a previous proclamation of banns. Such marriages were perfectly lawful, but subjected all who took part in them, including more especially the officiating clergyman, to heavy civil penalties. Such a Nemesis at length overtook Mr Robertson, who in 1807, after a trial before the High Court of Justiciary, was sentenced, on account of the irregular unions thus celebrated by him, to transportation for seven years. Long after this, however, the Border marriages celebrated at Lamberton Toll, at Coldstream, and above all at Gretna Green, continued to be the opprobrium of our country. They were

effectually put a stop to, as far at least as runaway couples from England were concerned, by the Act passed about thirty years ago, which requires, for the validity of any marriage in Scotland, that one at least of the contracting parties shall have resided three weeks in Scotland previous to its celebration.

In further reference to these irregular unions, which began to be so common in our country about the middle of the last century, it may be observed that a great moral deterioration was then creeping in, which, happily for Scotland, like the Restoration period in England, has proved, in its more flagrant phases at least, only temporary. Some of it is doubtless attributable, in both cases, to the reaction from extreme strictness and Puritan asceticism, which at this time commenced to manifest itself in what Sydney Smith saucily denominates "the land of Calvin, oatcakes, and sulphur." With the decline of the Evangelical or zealous party in the Church, the bonds of discipline began greatly to be loosened, and from the growing disfavour to austerity and fanaticism in the Church, a tendency sprang up which, in too many instances, led among the clergy to scepticism and indifference, and among the laity to irreligion and laxity of morals. Doubtless Scotland in all this was only influenced by the great tide of public opinion which, rising so strongly against established institutions and usages, swept so unresistedly over the nations of Europe, till it culminated in the cataclysm of the French Revolution. But

she had also peculiar forces within herself, which, springing from the national character, at once cautious and enthusiastic, both produced temporarily unusual and undesirable results, and at the same time prevented the balance of national propriety from being seriously or hopelessly disturbed.

On 29th July 1768 four couples appear before the session, and acknowledge their having been clandestinely married.

In the month of February of this year Mr M'Leish had died, leaving the second charge vacant. He was succeeded in August by Mr Walter M'Alpine, who was presented to the living by the trustees of Charles Cochrane of Culross.

Mr M'Alpine was minister of Culross for fifty-four years, in forty-seven of which he acted as minister of the second charge, and the remaining seven as minister of the first, to which he was promoted in 1816, on the death of Mr Rolland. He was the son of Mr John M'Alpine, minister of Campbeltown, and was himself a native of Luss, on Loch Lomond. He claimed to be the true head and representative of the clan M'Alpine.

The series of extracts from the kirk-session books of Culross may here terminate. In 1816, on the death of Mr Rolland, and promotion of Mr M'Alpine to the first, the Rev. John Balfour was appointed to the second charge. The Rev. Andrew B. Duncan succeeded Mr M'Alpine in 1824, and filled the first charge till 1873, when he was succeeded by the Rev. George Stephen, the present incumbent. Mr

Balfour continued in the second charge till 1843, when he joined the Free Church, and retired. He was succeeded, first by the Rev. Dr Laurie, and then by the Rev. Peter Logan, who resigned the charge in 1881, and was succeeded by the present incumbent, the Rev. A. S. Allan.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE GIRDLES AND GIRDLESMITHS OF CULROSS.

SCOTLAND has long been pre-eminent as the "Land o' Cakes"—an epithet which, if Burns did not coin, he has certainly rendered immortal, by the opening lines in his elegy on Captain Grose :—

> "Hear, Land o' Cakes, and brither Scots,
> Frae Maidenkirk to John o' Groat's."

For, up to comparatively recent times, the great "staff of life" in Caledonia was oatmeal, whether in the form of cakes, porridge, or brose—the last being the simplest preparation, as it merely involved the pouring of boiling water on the raw material. Though wheaten bread was always known, it was generally regarded as a luxury, only to be partaken of on special occasions; whilst the baker, as a public artist and purveyor, was a much less important personage than he is now—most households being, to a large extent, quite independent of his services. Amid all ranks, oatcakes, barley-bannocks, and occasionally flour-scones, were articles of universal con-

sumption, and a regular baking of these commonly took place every week. It will readily be comprehended that this must have formed an important domestic institution, and that every house must have been provided with the proper implements for accomplishing this work. Of these the girdle,[1] or circular iron plate, for toasting cakes over the fire, was the most necessary, and, as such, constituted a requisite in every Scottish family—as indispensable as the broth-pot or the washing-tub. And for many long years the only source of supply of so necessary a utensil was the town of Culross, which held a monopoly of the manufacture of girdles. Sir Walter Scott puts into the mouth of Madge Wildfire, in the 'Heart of Mid-Lothian,' the following reference to it:—

"The hammermen of Edinburgh are, to my mind, afore the world for making stancheons, ring-bolts, fetter-bolts, bars, and locks. And they arena that bad at girdles for carcakes neither, though the Cu'ross hammermen have the gree for that. My mother had ance a bonny Cu'ross girdle, and I thought to have baked carcakes on it for my puir wean that's dead and gane nae fair way."

Another evidence of the celebrity of the manufacture is to be found in the threat which, it is said, an angry mother would sometimes hold over a troublesome child: "If ye dinna behave yoursel' better, I'll gar your lugs ring like a Culross girdle!"

The merit of having invented girdles was claimed

[1] Dr Jamieson derives this word from the ancient Swedish *grissel*, the shovel used for the oven—or the verb *graedda*, to bake.

by the girdlesmiths of Culross; and though this is perhaps questionable, there was certainly an old tradition that they had been made there from time immemorial—and we have no record of their having been made, to any extent at least, in any other locality. There was plenty of ironstone in the surrounding country for supplying the necessary material. And it is generally reported that one of the requisites with which King Robert Bruce ordered his soldiers to be provided, in their forays into England, was an iron plate for toasting cakes, though the old song speaks only of oatmeal and brose :—

"Then our sodgers, arrayed in their kilts and short hose,
With their bonnets and belts, which their dress did compose,
And a bag o' aitmeal on their backs to mak brose.
For it's O the kail brose o' auld Scotland!
And O the auld Scottish kail brose!"

We know that King Robert encamped with his army for a while at Culross, in anticipation of a threatened invasion from England; and it is very possible, indeed, that the iron plates or girdles above-mentioned may have been procured for the troops from this quarter.

Neither in the erection of Culross into a burgh of barony in 1490 under Abbot Hog, nor in its subsequent elevation to the rank of a royal burgh, is there any mention of the girdlemakers or their craft,—the corporation in which they were really included, though not specially referred to by name, being that of the *fabri* or smiths. The earliest evidence which I have been able to find regarding them is a docu-

ment preserved in the girdlesmiths' box, which, with the other papers therein contained, is now in the possession of Mr W. K. Penney, Culross. It is a notarial instrument, ratifying an agreement among the "craftis mene of smythes of the toune of Culrois, convenit altogether, with ane consent and assent, for the utilitie, weill, and profeit of us and our craft, and the commoun weill of us all," and is executed at the monastery of Culross on 12th May 1549, in the fourteenth year of the pontificate of Pope Paul III. The chief article of contract is to the effect that no forge shall be erected by the servant or apprentice of any craftsman till he be judged qualified by the corporation to carry on the trade, and that he shall have sufficient means of his own without being necessitated to borrow on credit. It is also agreed "that naine of us sall use this craft of ours in na toune nor place of Scotland, bot allenarlie in the toune of Culrois, quhair it hes bein ay usit of befor." The penalty to be incurred by any contravener of the articles of agreement is, for the first offence, to be reduced from the rank of a master to that of a servant for one year, or to pay a fine of twenty merks Scots; for a second offence, the delinquent is to be debarred from exercising his craft for three years; and for a third, he is to be expelled from the corporation. One of the parties to the contract is a certain "Duncane Prymrois,"—doubtless the same as the "Duncan Primrose, burgess of Colrois," father of Gilbert Primrose, surgeon to James VI., and direct ancestor of the present Earl of Rosebery.

There can be little question, I think, but that the art of girdlemaking is included in the "craft" above referred to, though it is not expressly named; and indeed the great probability is, that it formed the main subject of the above provisions. Though the smiths of Culross seem always to have regarded themselves as possessing a "vested interest" in a prescriptive right to the exclusive manufacture of girdles, it is not till the end of the sixteenth century that we find this monopoly formally recognised. Here is the famous letter of King James VI. reviving rather than establishing that privilege, which, for nearly a hundred and fifty years to come, was to make Culross a household word throughout the length and breadth of Scotland:—

"REX.

"My Lordis and Baronis,
Provost and Bailleis of our Bruchs,—

"Forsomeikill as we are credible informitt be the girdelmakers, inhabitants within the bruch of Culross, that thair is sindrie men vilipendis and usurpis thair priviledges, and without all kynd of ordoure intromitts thame selfs with the said craft, and wyrkis in that craft without authorizing of the remanent brethreine bodie of the craft and thair admissioun, as thai aucht to have, according to thair auld priviledges: Quhairfoir it is oure will, and we command yow, that in all tymes heirefter ye concur, fortifie, and assist the frie men of the girdelmaker craft within our said bruch in all thingis according to thair usuall and antient priviledge, swa that na persone nor personis tak upoun hand to work any of the said girdills, except thai be lawfullie admittit and authorizit be the haill bodie of that craft to that effect; and ye, and ilk ane of yow, will answer to us

upoun yo^{r} obedience at yo^{r} uttermost chairge and perill, and under all hiest pane and chairgis that efter may follow. Be thir presentis, gevin under o^{r} signet and subscryvit with oure hand at Halyrudhous the xxviii day of November, and of o^{r} reginee the xxxiii yeir, 1599.

"JAMES R."

It appears from a statement contained in a written pleading given into Court by the girdlesmiths of Culross, in a lawsuit with the smiths of Low Valleyfield in the latter half of the seventeenth century, that King James VI. had, in the year 1599, paid a visit to Culross, and there witnessed the process of girdle-making. Doubtless he must often have been there when engaged in his hunting expeditions in the neighbourhood of Dunfermline, which, during his occupancy of the Scottish throne, seems to have been his favourite residence. And as both Edward Bruce, Lord Kinloss, and his no less distinguished brother Sir George, were natives of the parish of Culross, and esteemed friends of King James, there can be little doubt of the monarch often finding his way to the little monastery town, which had so many pleasant surroundings. Sir George Bruce had been very active at this period, as we learn from the burgh records, in procuring a charter from his Majesty erecting Culross into a royal burgh; and it is highly probable, considering the important stake he had in the prosperity of the place, that both his influence and that of his brother Lord Kinloss were employed in obtaining a concession of such a valuable additional privilege as the girdle monopoly. It

is true the grant could scarcely be considered a constitutional one, being merely bestowed by the fiat of royalty; but in that age such an objection had little force, when the granting of monopolies was a frequent and recognised method with sovereigns of gratifying a favourite without the necessity of bestowing a grant of lands or paying down a sum of money.

From the pleadings in the lawsuit above referred to, it seems clear that there was really an ancient gift to the smiths of Culross of the exclusive privilege of making girdles; but at what time or by what sovereign it was granted, is not stated. It is alleged, however, that the original deed of gift, and other evidents connected with it, were lost at the storming of Dundee,—an event which took place on two occasions during the seventeenth century, first under Montrose in 1645, and then under Monk in 1651—though the loss of the Culross documents is most probably to be referred to the latter of these occurrences. The letter of King James is therefore only to be regarded as a rider to or corroboration of a charter or deed of gift already in existence, and obtained from him to secure the privileges and stimulate the trade of the young and rising royal burgh.

In common with the coal and salt trades, the girdlemaking craft seems to have shared largely in the general prosperity which marks the condition of Culross during the reigns of James and Charles I.,—from the dissolution of the monasteries, in short, to the commencement of the great Civil War. It did

not, however, as already stated, form a corporation of itself, but it constituted the principal and most influential class in the general corporation of smiths or hammermen. This last included several trades, such as blacksmiths, cutlers, saddlers, and one or two others; but though each one of these was included under the general denomination of smiths, and had a right to all the privileges, including that of being elected to any office belonging to the craft, it was only the girdlesmiths who attained to the dignity of forming a separate and independent class, or, as one of the Acts of the corporation expresses it, of being "of ane sufficient number and corram" [quorum]. Whilst the other "workers of iron" within the community of hammermen were free to engage in any branch of the trade except girdlemaking, the professors of the last-named craft were debarred strictly, by their own rules, from engaging in any other, and exercised a rigid surveillance in excluding the non-privileged members of the fraternity of smiths from any participation in the special employment and rights secured by royal grant to the girdlesmiths as a monopoly.

Whilst, then, the girdlesmiths exercised what might be termed an *imperium in imperio*, the record of their proceedings is to a considerable extent mixed up with that of the community of smiths, and it becomes somewhat difficult to remember and trace out the distinction. It was they, certainly, that gave the general tone to the corporation, securing for it the precedence over the other crafts of

Culross on all occasions, festive or otherwise; and we shall not greatly err, in discussing any matter in which the smiths are concerned, in regarding it as chiefly connected with the girdlemakers and their vocation.

Along with documents of various kinds relating to the craft, the girdlesmiths' box already referred to contains two minute-books recording the transactions of the corporation. One of these is a small quarto volume, containing the earlier entries, which are scattered over its pages very much in random fashion, as if they had been written down at haphazard, wherever a blank sheet of paper presented itself. Generally, however, they may be stated as extending over a century, from 1634 to 1733. The other is a folio volume, containing the entries from the latter date to 1851, when the ancient corporation of the Culross hammermen draws its last breath in the election of William Brand to the office of deacon. Independent of its contents, its boards possess an interest as having apparently belonged to some old volume in the library of the monastery of Culross, and been afterwards degraded into enclosing the records of a heretical corporation. They have engraved in their centre a design representing the angels' salutation to the Virgin, with the motto on the border, "AVE MARIA . . . DOMINUS TECUM . . . " These four words are the only ones legible. The word between "Maria" and "Dominus" looks like "plena" or "pura," and that following "tecum" may be "quies." Above and

below this has been subsequently stamped on one of the boards, "GOD PROSPER THE HAMMERMEN OF COLROS;" and on the other board, "A BOOK FOR THE HAMMERMEN OF COLROS."

At the commencement of the earlier minute-book of the girdlesmiths is the following quotation from the Book of Job, "Seke unto the Lord betymes, and make known thy supplication to the Almighty; thogh thy beginnings be smal, yet thy latter end shall greatlie increase." This pious aspiration can hardly be said to have been realised in the case of the Culross hammermen, since whatever might be the extent of their beginnings, their prosperity had, in common with that of the burgh in general, reached about this period (1634) its zenith. Shortly afterwards, with the commencement of the Civil War, it experienced a decline, which went gradually onwards, and by the middle of the last century the glory of the craft had come to an end. In June 1634 the craftsmen obtained from the kirk-session permission to erect at their own expense "ane loft at the west end of the kirk, to belong to the said craft and their successors, as craft seat proper, and belonging to them in all time coming." Persons still living remember the smiths' loft in the situation here indicated in the church, prior to the alterations in 1824, with the trade device of the crown and hammer painted on the front panel of the gallery. As in the case of the other corporations, the attendance of the members was expected every Sunday, and rigidly enforced both by their own laws and

those of the Church. At this time there were sixteen master-smiths in Culross—a strange contrast to the state of things at the present day, when there is not one forge within the burgh, and only two smithies in the whole parish, one at Shiresmill and the other at Balgownie Mains.

With the dignity of acquiring a seat or loft in the church, the smiths seem to have bethought themselves of purchasing, on behalf of the corporation, a fine velvet mortcloth, which they lent out on the occasion of funerals both to their own members and the public in general, on payment of certain charges. It appears to have been rather a profitable investment for the corporation, but brought them at the same time into collision with the kirk-session, who found their own fees diminished in consequence of the smiths' mortcloth or pall competing for public patronage with that belonging to the parish. By an edict of theirs, accordingly, issued in 1646, just after the termination of the visitation of the plague, it is enacted that any parishioner using the smiths' mortcloth shall pay to the kirk-session also the same charges that he would have been liable in had he been furnished with the use of the parish mortcloth. This Act was passed during the palmy days of Presbytery, when the authority of kirk-sessions was at its highest. How far it was enforced, there is no evidence to show; but apparently it had soon fallen into abeyance, as after the Restoration we find in the smiths' minute-book, under the date of Michaelmas 1669, the following entry:—

"*Anent the mortcloth.*

"The day forsaid Alexr. Halliday is ordained to keep the mortcloth, and to lend the same to who shall desyre the same, and receave the mony therof till compt making."

A touching circumstance in connection with the girdlemakers is to be found in reference to the last visitation of the plague in Scotland, in 1645. We have already seen some account of the pestilence in the records of the kirk-session, and how it was commonly the practice to inter the bodies of the victims in lonely and remote places away from the churchyard. Culross Muir, then unplanted and unenclosed, seems to have been used for this purpose, among other localities. As the wanderer traverses the glades of Tulliallan forest, which now covers a large portion of the moor, he will be not a little startled, in the region of the wood adjoining the Walls Cottages or Half-Way House, to come upon an ancient tombstone of the cromlech or *through-stane* type. The surroundings have all the weird-like aspect described in Edgar Allan Poe's poem of "Ulalume." The inscription reads as follows :—

"Here lyes Robert, Agnes, Jeane, Baids, children was to IC [1] er bvrges of Cvlros, [who departed] af this Lyf in the Visetaseon 24 Septr. Ano 1645."

In the centre of the stone is a shield or scutcheon, and below this a representation of the crown and

[1] The inscription here on the exterior rim of the stone has been broken off.

hammer, the insignia of the girdlesmiths. The letters "er" before "burges of Cvlros" are doubtless the final syllable of the word "girdlemaker." We know that at this period there was in Culross a girdlesmith of the name of James Baid, Bade, or Bald (for in all these ways the name is spelled, the last having become ultimately the proper or settled orthography), who in the years 1653 and 1657 was, we learn from the minute-book, chosen deacon of the corporation. The antiquarian will be interested in this record of a bygone age, whilst to every one the simple inscription tells its own pathetic tale of the three children, a brother and sisters, who were cut off by the great pestilence, and found in the lonely moor a grave which, like that of the "Babes in the Wood," is now sprinkled with leaves, whilst the robin-redbreast and his mates carol their song from the overshadowing trees.

The laws made by the girdlesmiths for the regulation of the affairs of their craft are in most respects similar to those of other corporations, with the addition of a few specialties arising from their peculiar condition and privileges. One of these was the privilege of having a deacon and boxmaster of their own; but from reasons of convenience this seems to have been generally waived, and the right of nominating as well as being elected as office-bearers was by common agreement conceded to and shared with the whole corporation of hammermen, of which the girdlesmiths formed the principal and most influential class. They adhered, however, most rigidly

to the special rights secured to them by the monopoly; and whilst strangers or persons who had not served an apprenticeship within the burgh might, on payment of certain fees, be received as freemen, and allowed to practise all the ordinary branches of smith-work, the admission to the girdlemaking craft was strictly confined to such as had served an apprenticeship of five years to a girdlesmith in Culross, and after that a period of three years as a journeyman. Eight years must thus elapse before any one could attain to the rank of a master—though a special exemption was made in favour of an apprentice who at the end of his time had married the daughter of a freeman belonging to the same craft, and who thus was entitled to commence forthwith as a master without the necessity of any further service.

When an indenture was signed between a master and his apprentice, the latter had to be presented to the trade at their first quarterly meeting thereafter; the indenture was deposited in the box, the names of the parties duly recorded, and the sum of £3 Scots paid by the apprentice "for his prentise pitcher to the trade." He was taken bound to serve his master faithfully by day and night; to eschew all idleness, loose company, and practice of unlawful games; and to attend the church regularly every Sabbath. His master received an apprentice fee (generally about £40 Scots), and engaged himself in return to maintain his apprentice at bed and board, and instruct him in his calling to the utmost of his

power. On the expiry of his period of service the apprentice was entitled to be admitted as freeman, but was first obliged to produce evidence of his handicraft skill by making a girdle in the presence of a committee of masters. This ordeal having been satisfactorily passed through, he had to treat the whole corporation to the "speaking pitcher," or else pay the sum of £4 Scots, after which he had to pay a further sum of £4 Scots in name of entry-money. Lastly, before being admitted as freeman, he had "to provyde his denner, suficientlie furnished with meate and drink of severall sorts, acording as he sall be injoyned by the deacone, or els to pay downe to the box the soume of ten pund Scots, acording as he sall be ordained." He had also, when he set up for himself as a master, to satisfy the craft that he was "wordie of fifty punds of his awine" before he could be permitted to "kindell his fyre" or "take up ane booth."

Such, in its general features, was the novitiate of a girdlesmith of Culross, though modifications seem to have been introduced from time to time, along with relaxations, more especially in later days, from the strict severity of the rules. One special exception had always been made in favour of a girdlesmith's widow, who was allowed to carry on the business of her deceased husband—with this provision, however, that at least her foreman or head smith should have served a regular apprenticeship to the trade within the burgh.

The trades-union principle of restricting produc-

tion seems to have been fully acted on by the Culross girdlesmiths :—

"1 *October* 1639.

"It is ordained by the deacone and the brethren of craft that no girdelmaker sal make of twentie-sax inch girdles in ane day, but two fitit girdills;[1] mair of twentie-four inch girdils, two fitit girdils; mair of littel girdils, four unfited: under the paine of sax pund, and that to be precislie liftet without farder delay."

The following both illustrates the same principle and gives some information regarding the hour for beginning work in Culross in the seventeenth century. It is the first time I have heard of a fine exacted for early rising :—

"9 *January* 1660.

"The smithe craft of Culross being wholly meet together upon the fornamed day, and altogether consent for to hold themselves and ther servants to rise no sooner than fyve, or at soonest foure hours of the morning, under the penaltie of twenty shillings Scots to the master, and 12s. for ilk ane of the servants—and that to be keepit up of the first of ther wages."

My reader may now be curious to have some account of the process of girdlemaking, the practice of which was fenced in by so many restrictions. This I am enabled to furnish from the MS. lectures of the late Rev. William Stephen on the 'Antiquities of Culross' :—

"There is said to have been two modes. The master-smith chose a lump or mass of iron such a size as he judged sufficient to make the girdle intended. He himself handled

[1] Girdles provided with feet.

the tongs, and was assisted by two or more apprentices or servants, who used the hammers, it being contrary to Act of trade for any but a master to use the tongs, the apprentice or servant only using the hammer, which required less skill and more strength.[1] The iron, when duly softened by the heat of the fire, was beaten out by the hammermen, called also strikers, the master turning it on the anvil with the tongs; and this process of heating and beating was continued till the requisite thinness and size was obtained. The other mode was this: The smith, using a small piece of iron, began at the centre, called the crown. He then took a thin bar of two inches or so in breadth, and of a convenient length, the outer edge of which was broader than the inner, like a knife; and the centre piece and the bar being continually heated in the fire and beaten, were welded or united into one mass by the hammer. This mode required only one smith. The girdle, however, was not yet finished according to either mode. Much labour was needed to smooth the rough plate by means of a hammer of a peculiar form; and we are told the smoothing and tempering called into requisition the chief care of the craftsman, and required his highest skill. The handle, which was welded to the plate, was of two kinds. It either projected from the girdle in the same plane—which was the kind used by the Culross people—or it formed a bow across it; and some of the bows had a swivel for turning the girdle, which was the variety preferred by the Perth people. Another qualification of a good girdle was, it must be well footed. This requisite I did not understand until I saw in possession of Mrs —— an old girdle with four feet (two on each side), for supporting it on the

[1] I am not sure that Mr Stephen is right in saying that the apprentice was debarred from the use of the tongs. In an entry in the minute-book, dated 24th March 1716, I find a certain John Donaldson binding and obliging himself, on being admitted a member of the corporation of girdlemakers, that he should put the girdle tongs in no servant's hand that should work with him, *except his prentice*, under the penalty of £40 Scots.

hobs. Modern girdles have no feet. . . . Girdles were made both in Culross and Valleyfield in the end of last century; and I find that some half-dozen persons now living [1869] remember having seen the process of girdlemaking. . . . There are few girdles now to be found in Culross. I have only found four, and two in Low Valleyfield. One of the latter, which was broken, had a bow and swivel. Two in Culross are in good preservation; one especially is a genuine old specimen, with the brand."

The following document, preserved in the girdlesmiths' box, may be quoted here as exhibiting the different qualities and prices of the Culross girdles. It is dated at Perth, the 27th November 1668, and is a contract between John Wilson, Dean of Guild of that burgh, and certain merchants subscribing with him, on the one hand—and John Christie, one of the girdlemakers of Culross, as representing and commissioned by the corporation, on the other. By this agreement the said John Christie binds and obliges himself and the other girdlemakers of Culross

"To furnish the said John Wilsone, Deane of Gild, and remanent merchants of the said burgh of Perth, undersubscryvers, with good and sufficient girdles of all syses that they or either of them shall happine to requyre; and that they shall be weill footed and dressed every way, and that before their transportation from Culros they shall be sichtit by sworne men of the said incorporatione, and approven to be sufficient, and thereftir receave their stamp or seall upon every ane of them, being the crowne and hammer, with the name of the toune Culros about the same; and that they shall be of sufficient breadth—that is to say, the first syse, commonly callit the narrow girdles, to be of measor upon the elwand at least half ane elne wanting ane inch;

and the second syse, commonly callit broad girdles, to be of measor upon the ellwand half ane elne, and half ane quarter wanting ane inch, at least; and the third syse, commonlie callit twenty-six inch girdles, to be of measor upon the ellwand half ane elne, half ane quarter, and ane inch, at least:[1] and that the said John Wilsone, Deane of Gild, and remanent merchants foresaids, shall be answered and obeyed of the samene in tyme coming, upon fourteine dayes advertishment to be made be them or either of them to the said John Chrystie and remanent members of the said incorporatione, provyding they be no feuer in number sent for than ane load[2] at once. For the whilks causes the said John Wilsone, Deane of Gild, and with him the remanent merchants of the said burgh of Perth, under-subscryvers, binds and obleisses them, ilk ane of them for their owne pairttis, to mak good and thankfull payment to the said John Chrystie, or any other member of the said incorporatione from whom they shall receave any of the forsaids girdles, of the sowmes of monie following,—viz., for the first syse, the peice therof twenty-six shilling eight pennies Scots money; for the second syse, the peice therof fourtie-six shilling eight pennies; and for the third syse, the peice therof thrie punds thrie shilling four pennies. And siclyke shall only furnish and serve themselves with those girdles which shall happine to be made be the members of the said incorporatione of the girdlemakers att Culros, and which shall have their seall and stampt upon them as said is, otherwayes to pay to them thryse alsemuch as the pryce of any girdle they shall happine to buy or sell heirefter not swa bocht and stampt (except what is presently in their custodie allenarly). And farder, it is hereby declared, with consent of both parties contracters, that this present agreement is to stand swa lang as the pryce of the stone of iron beis att or below threttie-twa shilling money forsaid; and if the samene

[1] The dimensions were sometimes as large as 30 inches.

[2] A "load" was generally computed to contain from thirty to thirty-six girdles, according to their size.

beis deirer, the augmentatione of the pryces of the forsaids girdles to be in the merchants' discretione. And in lyk manner, in cais it shall happine the said John Wilsone, Dean of Gild, and remanent merchants foresaids, or either of them, to be refused or denyed of the saids girdles from the said John Chrystie or the members of his said incorporatione, upon the pryces forsaids and advertishment above written, the deacone of the samene being acquainted therewith, it is hereby provydid that it sall be leisome to them to buy their girdles whair they pleas, notwithstanding of this present contract."

A similar contract with Glasgow merchants, but containing terms a little more favourable as regards prices, is dated 9th December 1668, and also preserved in the box.

In connection with Robert Blaw, one of the girdlesmiths after-mentioned, a curious circumstance is recorded in the minutes of the Guildry of Culross, under the date of 19th September 1667. His forge adjoined the house of no less a personage than Alexander, second Earl of Kincardine, who probably at that period still occupied the family mansion of the Bruces, known in later times as "the Colonel's Close," but in which the Kincardine family seem to have resided for a number of years before removing to the splendid abode of the Abbey. Such a proximity gives a curious idea of the simplicity of the times, when the clouted shoe could be allowed to come so near the courtier as to gall his kibe. The girdlesmith's fire was breaking through into the nobleman's premises, to the imminent danger of the latter. He is first fined £2 Scots; and then, proving

contumacious, has an additional fine of £20 Scots imposed, with an order to build up within twenty-four hours the breach which he had made in the mutual wall.

There is a document preserved in the girdlesmiths' box which contains some details regarding the quantities of girdles made in Culross during a period which may be roughly stated as extending over nearly seventeen months, from the commencement of 1674 to the middle of 1675. Unfortunately it is only a scroll, and is not very clearly or distinctly expressed, seeing that in some parts it gives a regular list of the girdles made—as seems to have been taken every week—and in others merely summarises without stating particulars. Each account commences on 24th January 1674, and terminates in May 1675, but on different days of that month. As the document comprises only the names of six smiths, it cannot probably be said to exhibit a statement of all the girdles made in Culross during the period just mentioned, but it enables us to form some general idea of the extent of the manufacture, and also of the quantities which an individual maker would turn out from his forge within a given time. I have accordingly endeavoured, in the following table, to present an abstract of the contents of the "scrole." In the case of the first account—that of William Blaw—a distinct statement is furnished in the original of the different qualities, according to the trade nomenclature, of 116 26-inch, 185 broad, and 364 narrow girdles, composing in all an aggregate of 665.

But in all the others this classification is only partially made. The amount of stamp-money levied by the trade for its general benefit, at the uniform rate of a halfpenny sterling, or 6d. Scots, on each girdle, is in all cases given :—

Name of Girdlesmith.	Number of Girdles made between 16th January 1674 and May 1675.	Amount of Stamp-money. Scots.
William Blaw,	665	£16 12 0
Alexr. Halliday,	656	16 8 0
Robert Blaw,	850	21 5 0
James Gray,	686	17 3 0
James Blaw,	716	17 18 0
Margaret Anderson,[1]	646	16 3 0
Total,	4219	£105 9 0

The stamping of the girdles with the device of the crown and hammer and the name "Culross" was an indispensable ceremony before they could be offered for sale. Certain members of the craft called "visitors" were appointed in rotation to examine the girdles made, and when satisfied as to their sufficiency, to impress the stamp. The "bawbee fee" levied on this occasion, must have formed of itself a respectable revenue to the corporation.

Though the girdlesmiths seem to have adhered very strictly for the most part to their regulation excluding all from the privileges of the craft who

[1] Margaret Anderson or Sands was the widow of a girdlesmith, and as such entitled, by the laws of the corporation, to carry on the business after her husband's death.

had not served a regular apprenticeship to it, they nevertheless appear occasionally to have relaxed this rule. We accordingly find them in 1666 admitting John Haliday, blacksmith, and deacon in general of the hammermen, with Robert Sands, also blacksmith, to the full liberty and privilege of exercising the girdlemaking trade, in addition to their other occupations. It does not appear whether any consideration was given by Haliday for acquiring this right, but the minute-book shows that Sands paid for his privilege the sum of £100 Scots.

Besides the three descriptions of girdles already mentioned, there seems to have been another which constituted an illicit branch of manufacture, and forms the subject of the entry quoted below. What the term "callope girdles" means, I have not yet been able to discover; and it is not to be found in Jamieson's Dictionary. Can it be a corruption of "scallop," as denoting a small shell-shaped girdle?[1]

[1] This view is borne out by the following entry, which seems to have resulted in the details preserved in the scroll above referred to:—

"22 *January* 1674.

"The samen day it is statut and ordained that the haill members of the girdlesmith trade shall weikly, in all tyme coming, give in upon eache Saturdays night to their deacon for the tyme, ane exact acompt and list of the haill girdles and *shells* that shall be weekly made, to the effect they may know what stamp-money is due, conforme to each weekly list. And the transgressors are hereby ordiened to pay twenty shilling Scots for each weeks deficiency."

"20 *Jany.* 1671.

"ACT ADICIONALL CONSERNING THE DISCHARGING OF MAKING OF CALLOPE GIRDILLS.

"We, the incorporatione forsaid, having taken to our consideratione the greate prejudice that dooth daylie aryse to our calling throw the making of callope girdils, heath therfor acted and ordained, and be thir presents acts and ordains, that in no tyme coming any of the members of this incorporatione nor our prentises sall make any of the forsaid callope girdils, nor no girdils of any lesser syze than nyntine inches, comonly called narow girdels, excepe they be to gifte to a freind, and mead with libertie from the deacone; and that under the paine of fourtie shiling Scots for every feallie, to be uplifted and applied to the use of the trade."

A rigid discipline was exercised by the girdlemakers over such of their members as were contumacious in the way of refusing obedience to the laws of the trade, of non-payment of the fines imposed on them, or using disrespectful language towards the deacon and officers. In case of any transgression, the offenders were liable "to be discharged of their worke by stryking out of thair teu iyron, and thair other workloums to be disposed upon our pleasour, conforme to the ancient custom of this incorporation." That is to say, the nozzle or tube of their forge-bellows was to be taken out, and their tools to be carried away—a species of legalised "rattening," so familiar in the case of strikes and recalcitrant trades-unionists at the present day.

A strange *fracas* occurs in 1668 between the magistrates and town council and John Christie, girdlemaker, also deacon in that year of the corpora-

tion of smiths. He is accused by Bailie John Burnside of illegal conduct in exacting a "buist penny," or marking fee, from the hardware merchants who frequented Culross fair. Thereupon

"The said Johne Chrystie, deacone of the said craft of the smythe craft, rose up in counsell in ane most boasteus and insulting way, and declared in presence of the saids bailleis and counsell that he did approve of the deed that was done be him towards the said chapmen the last fair-day. . . . And farder, the said Johne Chrystie in ane verie boasteus and menasing maner chopped upon the counsell tabell with his fauldet neeve[1] three severall tymes, and in ane commanding way ordanit the remanent deacons of craftis that war there sitting to ryse presentlie from the counsell tabell and mianteane the priviledge of his craft, for he should have the business done without the consent of bailleis or counsell, whether they would or not; and farder declared that if the saids deacons of craftis would not presentlie ryse and concure and asist him in his designe, he would caus thame doe it in defyance of the saids bailleis and counsell."

For these "brave words" the magistrates fine John Christie in the sum of 500 merks,—on being summoned again to pay which, he defends himself by the curious plea, that his accuser John Burnside had rendered himself incapable of acting as bailie from not having subscribed the declaration imposed by Act of the Scottish Parliament. These were the persecuting days of Lauderdale and the Privy Council, and doubtless this declaration was one of those obnoxious engagements by which the Government

[1] Fist.

sought to render the Scottish communities entirely subservient to its will. Most probably the appeal had all the results desired, as it was most dangerous for the magistrates to contest such a point, and thus draw upon themselves the attention of the Privy Council. At least we hear no more of John Christie's fine.

We are not, however, done yet with John Christie. A few years afterwards, as we learn from the burgh records, he had come under an obligation for £600 Scots, for the payment of which a certain William Reid was his cautioner. As a security to the latter, he made over to him in a bond of relief his household furniture, all the articles of which are detailed at length. The list seems worth quoting, as giving an idea of the plenishing of the house of a Culross girdlesmith in the seventeenth century. It also gives an account of the tools used in his trade :—

"Ane dresser ambrie, ane drawing wanscot table, ane wanscott tabell standing above three roundell tables, ane dusson of lether chairs, ane dussone of timber chairs, two fyr tabells, ane wanscott furme, two falding-beds, fyve kists, three looking-glasses, six buffet stoles,[1] two dry seats with the pannes therof, three furnished beds with coverings and courtines conforme—to witt, one reid, one blue, one grein—ane strip buird-cloathe, three dornick[2] buird-cloathes and three of linning, six dussone of naiprie,[3] six toules, eighteen pair of sheets, eighteen coadwards,[4] four chimley brasses, one with gallows, three pair of tongs, three poaring ,

[1] A stool with sides, which might be used as a table or sideboard.
[2] Table-linen—so-called, it is said, from coming from Tournay.
[3] Damask, and other fine linen. [4] Pillow-slips.

ane pair of standing , ane handed girdle, ane iron poat, two brass poats, ane iron frying-pan, ane dussing of puther pleatts, ane dussing of puther trenchers, three brass panes, two hinging chanlers of brass, thrittein half fatts,[1] sextean pleatts, threetean salt-fatts, fyve pynt stoups, ane quart stoup, four mutchkin stoups, four choppin stoups, with ane half-mutchkin and a quarter-of-mutchkin stoups, ane small sword with ane sticket[2] gray belt, ane snapwork goune, ane pair of pistolls, ane pair of bandoliers, ane pair of buits, a ryding sadle, ane pack-sadle, ane iron studie[3] about ten stone weight, ane pair of bellosses, two foir-hammers, two girdle-hammers, six hand-hammers, four pair of tongs, two pair of girdle tongs, together with ane full stand of brewing lomes."[4]

Such being the inventory of a girdlesmith's household gods, we must regard him as, all things considered, a man of tolerable competence and comfort. The "drouthy" propensities of the craft, as well as its pugnacious qualities, are well illustrated by the liberal provision made both for the implements of conviviality and warfare.

The following tells its own tale, and seems also worth quoting in its entirety, from the curious view it presents of the old primitive idea of the debtor being the bondman of the creditor, who was considered entitled to "take out" his claim in personal service :—

> "Minot of Agreement with John Sandis anent that money that he is restand to the Trade, as Cationer for his father.

"John Sands being debitor to this incorporation for the some of ane hundereth punds Scots, the which soume was

[1] Casks or barrels. [2] Embroidered. [3] Stithy. [4] Utensils.

advanced by the remnant girdilsmiths in anno 1664 for his father, he then being ane frieman of his calling, and was depursed by us for assisting to get our ancient priviledges renewed unto us by the King's Majestie, att which tyme ilk ane of thes freimen advanced the lyke soume for themselves; for the qlk soume Walter Sandis as principall, and this John Sands as cationer, in anno 1670 granted to this incorporation ane bond for the said soume of ane hunderethe punds, payable at Martinmas 1671, with ane year's annual rent, and bearing annual rent ay and quhill the said soume be paid: And now at this tearme of Mertimes last past, we being desyrous to heave up the said soume, with the annual rent therof, to the effect that we might mortifie the same for payment of the minister's stiping, therfor we cause registrat the said bond, and raise letters of horning and captione therupon, and imprison John Sands for payment; but finding no probabilitie to get payment, we was forced to take his bond of corroboration for payment of this principall soume and annual rent, being seven years past at Martimes, which extends to fourtie-two punds, and eghte pund of necessar expensis, depursed by us, which bond is now ane hundereth and fiftie punds of principall, and heath taken his ingadgement to serve as a jurnayman ay and whill he pay the said soume, or els find us suficient catione for the same; the which service he is to make every weike about amongst the heall freimen, bot if any of the freimen be detained from being able to work himself, either by sicknes, or ocasione to goe abrod, or any other way that he cannot get his work attended, then and in that ceasse it is expresslie condescended unto that the said Johne Sands sall suplie his place and worke to him untill he returne to his worke, and therafter heave toure about of John Sandis without any rememberance of that tyme that he did worke to this absent master, and every weik to keip up 8/ of John Sands' wages, and to be comptable therfor at every quarter meiting befor the incorporation."

A mingled feeling of pity and indignation is excited in reading the above, combined also, it must be confessed, with a slight sense of the ludicrous, as we reflect on the hapless lot of the poor fellow, whose filial affection had led him into so unpleasant a position, and who was now to be bandied about like a job-horse from one girdlesmith to another. It would be interesting to know how long the bondage continued, and also whether the pound of flesh was exacted to the utmost extent. Is the statement about the money being required to provide a fund for payment of the minister's stipend a pious clause introduced to cover the harshness of the procedure of the corporation in adding a half to the original debt in name of interest and expenses, and then seizing their debtor as a bondman?

> "In law, what plea so tainted and corrupt,
> But, being seasoned with a gracious voice,
> Obscures the show of evil? In religion,
> What damned error, but some sober brow
> Will bless it, and approve it with a text,
> Hiding the grossness with fair ornament?"

Walter Sands, father of John Sands, on whose account the latter was involved in such hardship, got himself into further trouble with the corporation; and in justice to them, it ought to be remarked that possibly it was not altogether undeserved. Here is their account of the matter:—

"The 5 day of September 1673, our craft being meete in the Toylbooth of Culros, Walter Sands, being conviened befor the said craft, was found lyabell in breaking the Acts of our

craft at many sundry tymes severall wayes, especially that Act daited the 1 day of March 1669 years. The deacon having apprehended and taken 3 broad girdils and 6 narow girdils belonging to the said Walter Sands, earnestly desyred that the craft wolde be pleased to give the forsaid girdils to him again, that he might give the iyron of them to those men he was resting it unto. But the wholl craft denyed to give any of them unto hym againe, and ordieaned the deacon to make money of them, and put it in box for the use of the poor of the craft."

It is not clear from the above whether the request there preferred was made by Walter Sands himself, or the deacon of the craft on his behalf. It certainly seems a severe proceeding to confiscate for behoof of the poor the property of a craftsman who was himself in difficulties.

A female girdlesmith gave the corporation a good deal of trouble about this time. This was Mrs Margaret Anderson or Sands, already mentioned, widow of the Robert Sands who, without having served an apprenticeship to the craft, had purchased, as we have already seen, a right to participate in its privileges by the payment of £100 Scots. He had evidently not long survived his admission as a freeman; but his business must have been a good one, and was after his death carried on by his widow, who, whatever other qualities she possessed, had certainly a good deal of the virago in her composition. I take a special interest, however, in Mrs Sands, seeing that there is good reason to believe that she lived and flourished almost on the very spot where I am now

writing.[1] We learn from the kirk-session records that she lived near St Mungo's Kirk or Chapel, and had an altercation with the ecclesiastical authorities regarding a piece of ground lying between her house and the western wall of the old burying-ground adjoining the little church. The position of her dwelling would thus correspond almost exactly with the present house of St Mungo's, one portion of which is very old, and has evidently had attached to its west end a building of some kind, as the doorway leading to it is still traceable in the adjoining wall. This may have been the forge; and, however dubious my supposition may seem, there is no doubt whatever that this bustling lady-girdlesmith carried on her trade in the immediate neighbourhood. St Mungo's Chapel, I may inform my reader, immediately adjoins the eastern enclosure of the garden of St Mungo's—the distance between it and the house being scarcely 100 yards.

Let us now hear the story of Mrs Margaret's quarrel with the girdlemakers, bearing in mind always that it is only their account that we have of the affair:—

"1673.

"The 21 day of Aprill, our craft being meete together in Toylbooth, Marget Anderson being conviened befor the crafte, she brought Robert Blaw, present Dean of Gild, with hyr, who neither of them made answer our craft on word to purpose; but the said Margett brak out in passion and gaive our present deacon a lie, forbyding hym to lie any

[1] I was then residing at St Mungo's, Culross.

mor, and she had gud grounds to say that he was hyr ennemy—for the which misdemanure she is onlyed and fyned in fourtie shilings, to be payed befor she have liberty to worke or imploye any to work in hyr forge.

"The whilk day Marget Anderson was fyned in twentie pund for sending girdils to Glasgow without acquainting our deacon; and further ordaines that she nor no other member shall sende any girdils to Glasgow or Pearth, or any plaice else, without liberty asked and gotten from the deacon, and that under the paine and penalty conteaned in the Act made the first day of March 1669 year."

"24 *November* 1673.

"Margret Anderson, relick of Robert Sands, on of the freimen of the incorporatione of girdilmakers, she being conveined befor the said tread and found culpable in transgressing of severall Acts which in all reasson she is lyable to fulfill, they heave therfor, out of their own condescendence, consented to passe all hir former transgressions, provyding that within fourtie days hence shee give to the incorporatione ane suficient bond and seurtie that shee sall give deu obèdience to all ther Acts of that incorporatione, according as other members of the incorporatione doeth."

"22 *January* 1674.

"The foresaid day Margaret Anderson compeiring, did faithfullie promise and ingadge herself, upon the conditions after specefeit, that she shall, in all tyme coming, dulie and punctuallie observe and fulfill the haill Acts of the trade, and that she shall not transgress in the least. Upon the which the deacon and remanent brethren have past by and discharged all former Acts and statutes sett doune or pronounced against her for whatsomever transgressions bygone; and also ordeins the girdles to be restored to her which formerly wer apprehended for ane former transgression. And it is heirby declared, if she shall in tyme coming transgress, notwithstanding of this her present obleisment,

that in that case she shall be lyable in payment of such fynes as are mentioned and sett doune against any contravener of the samen Acts."

Mrs Sands proves incorrigible, notwithstanding all the gracious dealings of the corporation towards her. Again does she prove contumacious, and, in legal phrase, is "put to the horn," or charged by letters of horning to answer for her misdemeanours. These consisted mainly of having disposed of a parcel of girdles which had not been approved by the craft and received their stamp. What effect this procedure had we are not informed; but it is evident that her spirit of defiance had been little diminished, as we find, after the lapse of four years, the corporation meeting again in reference to a new and terrible cause of offence which she had given. In explanation of what follows, it may be stated that at this period, and for a good many years previously—as I shall shortly have occasion to detail—the girdlemakers of Culross had been sadly exercised by an encroachment on their privileges by the inhabitants of Low Valleyfield, who were therefore regarded by them with the bitterest animosity.

"27 *March* 1678.

"Ordinance of thes incorporatione to repair to the magistrats to assist us in the defence of our priviledgis, which this day is most baislie abused by Margret Anderson.

"The qlk day the incorporation of girdlsmiths being conveined, and being informed by the deacon that Margret Anderson heath meade the unworthiest breache upon our treade this day that ever was meade this many ageis, and that by hir bringing in of on Watson out of the Valyfield,

and seeting of him up into hir forge to make girdils for hir use; the which unworthie act being considered by us, and also considering thes our priviledges granted unto us by his Majestie and also his predecessours, it is apointed that we first repaire to the magistrats and show to them our priviledges, and creave their concurrance to assist us to stryke out hir teu iyron, and secure the same and other thair workloums, quhill she be meade sencible of hir doings by hir infringing of our priviledges after such ane insulting manner, and be punished corrdingly for the same if ever heirafter shee be tollerat to heave the libertie of ane forge for making of girdills."

It would appear from the following entry that the girdlemakers, without waiting for the warrant of the magistrates, had on their own authority rendered Mrs Sands' forge bellows useless by "striking out the teu iron," or removing the nozzle. She takes the bull by the horns and lodges a complaint with the town council against the craft:—

"Upon the first of April the incorporation, being informed by the deacone that there is ane complaint given unto the counsell by Margret Anderson upon them and all the rest of the treade for thair stryking out of hir teu iyron and bringing therof away with them, whereupon it is ordered by the counsell that our gift, and ratification therof in Parlament, which containeth our priviledges, sall be produced to the magistrats and severall others of the counsell who is nominat, to the effect that they may see the same, and consider therupon whether or not that we heave that poure that we assume to ourselves by the said gift: the which ordinance of the counsell being considered by the incorporatione, we conceav that we are not oblidged to produce our gift befor no inferior judicatories to be commented upon or expounded by them at thair pleasour; yet not-

withstanding because we neide not caire much to whos sight the same be presented, we therfor heave consented that the next counsell day we sall all compeire in the Tolbooth, and sall offer the said gift and ratificatione to be reade by the magistrats, upon conditione that, after the reading therof, they sall be immediatlie returned to us againe; and that in the meane tyme John Kennewie, clarke, who heath declared himself to be ane oppen ennemie to our treade, and to be ane instrument against us to reduce our gift and priviledges to nothing, that he sall be removed, or at the least sall stand by when he may have the same reade,—and upon no other tearmes to be produced."

The expressions at the end of the foregoing are obscure, and the composition, to say the least of it, slipshod; but it is very evident that the girdle-makers found little favour with the town council. They manfully, however, resolve to stand to their guns, and without abating one jot of their corporate dignity, pass the following

"*Act discharging Marget Anderson to heave the benefit of John Sands, our jurnayman, to work to hir weike about befor shee suplicat the tread, and aknowledge hir rebellious act in bringing in of Watson to make girdils in hir forge.*

"The day forsaid the breitherine being conveined, and heaving taken to thair consideration that unworthie rebellious act committed by Margret Anderson by hir bringing in of Will. Watson, smith, in Valyfield, and seeting of him up into hir forge to make girdils, expreslie contrarie to his Majestie's gift and his predecessors, granted in favours of this our incorporatione, they heave therfor acted and discharged, and be thir presents acts and dischargis our present deacon James Blaw to give back to hir that teu iyron or any

other of hir workloums which they did bring away out of hir forge the tyme that they did find this Watson in the very act of making of girdils; and also discharges hir of the benefit of John Sands, our jurnayman, to worke to hir weike about acording as he is oblidged to serve other freemen, and that ay and quhyll the said Margret Anderson suplicat the treade, and acknowledge that hir unworthie, wrongous, rebellious act, and refer herself to be senceured and fyned by this incorporatione, and obtaine thair libertie to kendill hir forge-fyre and seet up hir work."

These proceedings against a widow woman may not seem very chivalrous on the part of the girdle-makers; but it should be remembered that Mrs Sands, in addition to her former delinquencies, had now committed a flagrant breach of the trade rules in employing a stranger as her overseer, instead of a freeman of Culross. Our pity may more legitimately be expended on poor John Sands, so unceremoniously spoken of as the common bondman of the corporation, and giving a week's service in turn to each of the members, till his cautionary obligation on behalf of his father should be cleared off. How this business of Mrs Sands was ultimately settled we have no information; but it is probable, from the following entry (the last regarding her), that she remained to the end successfully defiant:—

"16 *Octr.* 1679.

"The said day Margret Anderson is ordained to be spoken unto by James Cowie, to pay to Rot. Blaw, betwix and Saturday, the soume of £4, 14s. 8d., els to be discharged of work."

I have now to record the great strife between the

girdlemakers of Culross and those whom they were wont to denominate "the pretended girdlemakers of Valleyfield." The contest extended over more than half a century, and was not only a most troublesome and expensive conflict in itself, but proved also the means of ultimately extinguishing the monopoly and ruining the trade of Culross. However much the exclusive privilege claimed by the latter town may be opposed to our modern ideas of free trade and unrestricted competition, we ought always to bear in mind the current principles then in vogue, the fact that a prescriptive and uncontested right had been enjoyed by the Culross people from time immemorial, and that the very parties who impugned this right were merely claiming an extension of the monopoly for their own benefit.

The burgh territory of Culross is bounded, as we have already seen, on the east by the lands of Valleyfield, which, since the middle of the sixteenth century, had been in the possession of the Preston family. The estate was not in itself of great extent; but, in imitation apparently of the example of Sir George Bruce, who had raised Culross to such a height of prosperity, its proprietors had endeavoured to achieve a similar success in working collieries and saltworks in the adjoining district. The workmen engaged in these lived for the most part in the straggling village of Low Valleyfield, which extends along the sea-shore almost from Newmill Bridge to the east end of Culross. The undertaking seems to have been so prosperous as to stimulate the Prestons to still

higher aspirations, and the ambitious idea was conceived of having a burgh of their own, which might both rival Culross and also enjoy a share in the peculiar and exclusive privileges possessed by the latter. A charter was accordingly procured in 1663 by Sir George Preston in favour of his son, William Preston (reserving his own liferent), of the lands of Valleyfield, which were thereby erected into a burgh of barony, with many of the privileges of royal burghs, including those of holding fairs and markets, of punishing offenders, and establishing the ordinary trade corporations. Among these last are mentioned the *fabri* or smiths; and although nothing is said about girdlemakers, the position was taken up that this must include a right to participate in the girdle monopoly hitherto exclusively enjoyed by the smiths of Culross. Some such assertion seems to have been foisted into the infeftment proceeding on the charter of resignation erecting Valleyfield into a burgh of barony. The whole affair was regarded by the Culross people as a gross infringement of their privileges, and, as we have already seen, met with the most determined, and to some extent effectual, opposition. But it was the girdlesmiths who had to suffer most severely and bear the brunt, and certainly the procedure of Sir George Preston and his son does seem most invidious. One of the first steps taken to foil their adversaries was the resolution of the Culross girdlemakers to obtain a fresh grant of their monopoly from Charles II.—an object which was accomplished in 1666; and a parliament-

ary ratification of the new gift was obtained in 1669. But the people of Valleyfield, disregarding all threats or remonstrances, continued to manufacture girdles, though it is alleged their quality was of a very inferior kind.* And a regular contract seems to have been entered into between the Prestons and certain inhabitants of the place, by which the latter, on condition of paying a sum of money annually, were to have the exclusive privilege of manufacturing girdles within the barony of Valleyfield. Meantime the Culross smiths were striving to the utmost to maintain their monopoly, both against their neighbours of Valleyfield and strangers. We find in 1668 a charge on letters of horning given to David Mather, smith in Bridgeness, on the opposite side of the water, "that he perpetuallie abstein from making of any girdles of any quantitie whatsoever, and that within the space and under the panes all within exprest." And we have seen how endeavours were made to secure an exclusive market with the merchants of Glasgow and Perth,—all, indeed, evidences of the straits to which the Culross hammermen were reduced by the growing resistance to their monopoly, and gradual declension of their prestige. A charge, too, was given to the Valleyfield girdlemakers, who brought a suspension of it before the Court of Session, and seem to have so far succeeded as to induce the Culross men to open negotiations with the Prestons in the hope of effecting a compromise of the matter. But no compromise apparently could be arrived at, the laird of Valleyfield demanding a composition of

a thousand marks Scots, or £55, 11s. 1d. sterling, whilst £50 sterling was the utmost limit to which the others could be induced to go. One would have thought, when the respective proffers approached so nearly, that an agreement might have been come to; but the only result seems to have been a sisting of procedure in the case for several years. The Culross girdlemakers had evidently exhausted their resources, and were glad for a while to rest on their oars.

The suspension by the girdlemakers of Valleyfield of the charge given them by those of Culross seems to have been allowed to go to sleep; but in 1687 we find the Culross smiths plucking up spirit again, and determined to have a fresh tussle with the Valleyfield intruders. They accordingly revived the process by what is known in Scots law as a summons of wakening, and gained such an advantage by this step over their antagonists, who made no appearance, that they resolved to have the whole question settled by a summons of reduction and declarator, so as to have their own privileges permanently ascertained, and the claims of the Valleyfield men for ever silenced by getting annulled the charter of erection of the estate into a burgh of barony. The Culross girdlesmiths had apparently calculated on no opposition being made to them; but in this expectation they were too sanguine, as a defence was entered, and the lawsuit dragged its slow length along for more than a quarter of a century. A document preserved in the box, entitled an "Information from the girdlemakers of Culross against the burgh of barronie

of Valeyfield and the pretended girdlemakers therin," lodged in process in 1688, contains some curious statements. One of these, after arguing that the privilege claimed could not properly be styled a monopoly, goes on to say:—

"For the tempering and beating out the iron to the thinnes of a girdle soe that it may last against fire for ane age or two, is that which wes invented particularlie at Cullross; and the 8 or 10 workmen who are there are able to serve the whole kingdome, and are able to export manie into Ireland and the north of England, and have swa manie hundreds upon their hands withall, which, tho' they could sell all they have, they are hardly able to won their bread; and albeit that trade is the hardiest of all toylls, and sufers feu to live to anie age, yet never anie of them arose to anie competent riches, and if they did not regulate their own societie to the number of 8 or 10, and to work 3 days a-week (lest otherways they should make too manie and ill girdles), they would all starve, soe that if others should be allowed to work, everie serving the said trade, not onlie the poor buyers should be cheated with ill work, but the trade should absolutelie decay; and all the burghs royal are so sensible of this, that neither their Convention in general nor anie burgh in particular would suffer their inhabitants to follow this trade; nor can thir suspenders, on the other hand, lose anie thing, for they are blacksmiths to their own trade, and were not bred to this, wheras these poor people would absolutlie ruine, having noe other trade, and the town of Cullross itselfe, which subsists by them and their dependents onlie, would ruine with them."

This may to some extent be only a rhetorical flourish; but it presents, nevertheless, a sufficiently melancholy picture of the state of things which had come to prevail in Culross. The process went on,

fell asleep again, and again was wakened. In 1706 a petition was presented by the craft to the Convention of Royal Burghs sitting at Edinburgh, praying the latter to assist them with the services of an advocate, "we being brought to an most low condition and our trade wholly destroyed by the said men in Valefield."

The assistance thus sought for seems to have been given. In the following year Thomas Stevenson, one of the Valleyfield smiths, was apprehended at the instance of the corporation of hammermen, for working within the burgh, and committed to prison, from which he was only released on giving his bond to refrain from doing so in future, under the penalty of £20 Scots. For some years after this we have no information as to the progress of the lawsuit, till in 1716 we find the Culross girdlemakers sending John Blaw, one of their number, as their commissioner to Edinburgh, to effect an amicable adjustment of the matters in dispute with the smiths of Valleyfield. This object must have been, temporarily at least, accomplished, seeing that two years afterwards a mutual agreement was signed by the parties to refrain, each member under a penalty of £6 Scots for each failure, from producing more than "a broad and a narrow girdle each work day, fyve twenty-two inch girdles each two work days, three twenty-six inch girdles in two days, and one twenty-eight inch girdle in one work day." But it was found impossible to overcome the resistance of particular individuals, who, now that an example of revolt had

been set, were ever ready to make a fresh encroachment. In 1719, George Cunningham, smith in Valleyfield, presents—with what success we are not informed—a bill of suspension before the Court of Session of a charge of horning which had been given him to abstain from the manufacture of girdles.

The Convention of Royal Burghs seems to have favoured the suit of the Culross girdlemakers, and besides the legal assistance already mentioned, made a grant to them from its funds of £60 Scots, which was paid through its agent, Mr George Smollett, a relation of the author of 'Roderick Random.' And as General George Preston was now a candidate for the representation of the Stirling Burghs in the British Parliament, some faint hopes were excited that, in return for the votes of the Culross town council, he might lend important assistance in getting the ancient monopoly of the girdlesmiths renewed and confirmed.

All such expectations, however, were destined to be fallacious, and the crowning blow was about to descend. A recreant member of the corporation, named John Watson, had left Culross and commenced the manufacture of girdles in Kilmarnock, where he worked under the patronage and protection of the celebrated Earl of that name, who at a later period laid his head, for the Stewart cause, on the block on Tower Hill. The craft was indignant, and sent its officers to the west country to search for and summon the traitor; the Culross magistrates lent

their aid; and even the assistance of the Church was invoked, and not refused. Watson was summoned before the kirk-session to answer for his breach of the oath taken on his admission as a freeman; a certificate of Church membership, which he had forwarded to Culross for some emendation that he wished, was ignominiously torn; and the kirk-session of Kilmarnock was written to "to treat the said John Watson no better than he deserves." But all this artillery, civil and ecclesiastic, had no effect whatever. Watson, on receiving a charge of horning, presented a bill of suspension in the Court of Session; and this being opposed by the girdlemakers, the action at their instance was proceeded with against him and another contravener of the name of Masterton. In 1725 the case which is recorded in the law reports under the title of the Girdlemakers of Culross *v.* Watson and Masterton, was finally decided. The judgment was completely against the Culross smiths, and declared authoritatively that the monopoly claimed by the latter was wholly illegal and unconstitutional. No such exclusive privilege could be sustained in favour of any locality or any body of men.

Notwithstanding this defeat, the Culross girdlemakers still strove, and not unsuccessfully, to vindicate their privileges within the burgh, as will appear from the following entry:—

"24 *April* 1733.

"The said day Alexander Stevenson, younger, girdlesmith in Valleyfield, being found and apprehended selling

girdles within the burgh, and the haill girdles seized, the said Alexander Stevenson, present, acknowledges his fault.

"The trade having considered the transgression, with the confession, fines the said Alexander Stevenson in ten shillings sterling, and ordain the girdles seized to be kept while payment therof, and discharges the girdles to be delivered within the burgh.

"The above sentence being intimate to the said Alexander Stevenson, he payed the fine instantly."

But it was soon felt to be useless to protract the struggle longer, and the two following entries show that the corporation had resolved to accept the situation, and contend no further with the inevitable :—

"13 *July* 1754.

"Patrick Donald has entered a complaint to the trade against George Tannochie, elder and younger, for the cause alleging that they are making girdells in Laigh Valleyfield, which crime being contrary to their oath to the trade.

"This 13th day of July 1754, the trade has taken to their serious consideration the detriment and great loss that their girdlesmith trade is at. Considering that they had made formerly an Act that no girdlesmith freeman could take apprentice but one apprentice in their whole lifetime, and the trade considering the decay of trade, and the great loss they are at, has by majority of votes broken the former Act; and they all agree that every freeman girdlesmith could take apprentice at the end of every four years, and that apprentices indentures is to be put in the box, whether he be a freeman's son or a stranger, and to pay the ordinary dues. This day the trade has taken into their consideration the loss that they are at by a former Act that the incorporation made, that no freeman of the girdlesmiths could make a girdell or any part thereof in any part of Scotland except in this burgh of Culross. The trade considering that it being a

very hard case that, when any of the members of the incorporation is fallen back in the world, and that they have no liberty by working by way of journeyman to any other person of that trade, or set up in any other place or town, so the trade, by majority of votes, agree that the Act is resinded and broken, and every freeman of the trade has their liberty to work where they please, or where Providence shall order their lot in the world.

"JAMES ROLLAND, *Deacon.*"

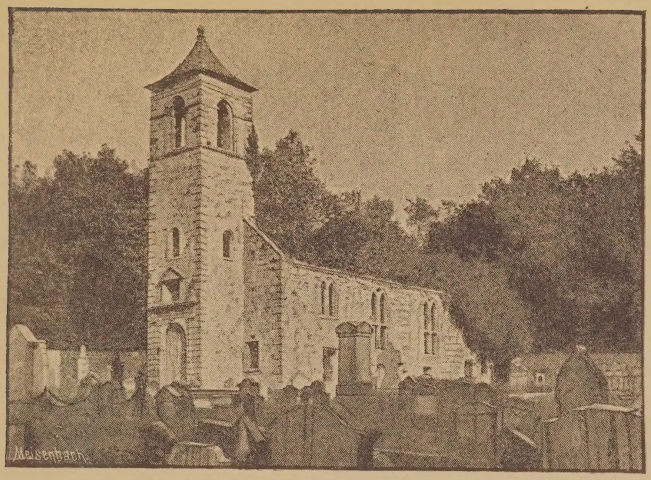
After such a declaration, which may be regarded as a final and distinct abandonment by the girdle-makers themselves of their old and long-cherished privileges, it need excite no surprise that this is about the last time that either the word "girdle" or "girdlesmith" is mentioned in the minute-book. Henceforward it only records the proceedings of "The Incorporation of Smiths." Another circumstance still was to complete for Culross the loss of her prestige. This was the establishment of the Carron ironworks in 1760. The cast-iron plates being so much cheaper, soon entirely superseded the artistic and enduring utensil of wrought-iron. Even the use of girdles of any kind began to decline; and so much has been the alteration in our mode of living, that they have come to be almost as obsolete as the knocking-stone or the spinning-wheel.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE KIRK-SESSION RECORDS OF TULLIALLAN.

THE parish of Tulliallan belongs ecclesiastically to the Presbytery of Dunblane, and under the sway of Episcopacy was, along with Culross, included in the diocese of the bishop of that designation. A large portion of it formed also, in ancient times, part of the parish of Culross; but about the middle of the seventeenth century the barony of Kincardine, with the lands of Sands, Kellywood, and Lurg, were disjoined from the latter and annexed to the parish of Tulliallan. We have already, in discussing the ecclesiastical history of Culross, seen the reasons assigned for that disjunction,—the distance of the places in question from the parish church, and their proximity to the little church of Tulliallan, which, however, was now far too small to accommodate the large access of worshippers. It was necessary, therefore, that it should either be enlarged or a new church built; and the latter measure was adopted as the more suitable for the convenience of the congregation, the greater part of

which, as connected with the coal and salt works on the Kincardine estate, inhabited the village that afterwards increased into the small town of Kincardine. The old church was a very small building indeed, being only 36 feet in length, 16 feet in breadth, and 8 feet in height, and had been a Roman Catholic place of worship prior to the Reformation, when the powerful family of Blackadder were the lords of Tulliallan, and occupied the old castle in the vicinity. It was afterwards converted into a mausoleum by the Keith family; but scarcely any trace of the old building now remains, though the old burying-ground, with the modern vault in its centre, still exists in a secluded corner of Tulliallan park, about a mile to the north of the more recent church. This last, standing on a picturesque eminence overlooking the Forth, has also in its turn become a ruin, and been supplanted by the present parish church at a little distance below. Like its predecessor the old church, it had about fifty years ago become too small to accommodate its congregation, which had thus for a second time to change its quarters. There are, accordingly, three edifices in three different localities in the parish of Tulliallan which have all enjoyed successively the *status* of church of the parish. To the first of these belongs, *par excellence*, the title of the "old church"; but the same epithet is equally applicable to the second, with which the session records, now to be considered, are for the most part exclusively connected. It will therefore be understood that all the allusions there



The Old Church of TULLIALLAN.

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The Cross of Culross and "The Study."

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to the "old kirk" refer to the original church of Tulliallan, whose contracted dimensions had necessitated the erection of a larger building to accommodate the influx of members from Culross. It was erected in 1675, and the existing records commence two years previously, the heading of the first volume appearing thus :—

"The Register of the Acts and Meetings of Session since 24 of Augt. 1673, Mr Alexr. Williamsone being minister."

In the year above mentioned, James Ramsay, formerly minister of Linlithgow, afterwards parson of Hamilton and Dean of Glasgow, had succeeded the celebrated Leighton as Bishop of Dunblane. Though he had figured somewhat prominently at the burning of the Solemn League and Covenant some years before at the town cross of Linlithgow, he seems yet to have been, on the whole, a man of moderate sentiments, and gave such offence by his advocacy of mild measures and opposition to the Act of Supremacy, that, at the instigation of Archbishop Sharp, he was removed from the bishopric of Dunblane to that of the Isles, but was restored again to his old see in 1676. After this, whilst still acting as Bishop of Dunblane, we find him, as has been elsewhere detailed, acting for a while as the incumbent of the first charge of Culross, as successor to Mr Burnet. In 1684 he was translated from Dunblane to the see of Ross, which he held till the Revolution. He was then deposed, and died a few years afterwards in great poverty, as is alleged, at

Edinburgh in 1696, and was buried in the Canongate churchyard. He was succeeded in the see of Dunblane by Robert Douglas, who continued in that office till the Revolution, but whose subsequent history I have not been able to trace.

As far as can be ascertained from the records of the Tulliallan kirk-session, the inhabitants appear to have been, throughout the period between the Restoration and the Revolution, much more favourably situated than their neighbours of Culross in regard to provision for their spiritual wants, and there seems also to have been a good deal of activity in the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline. Though a Prelatist and conformer to the Church government of the day, there is no reason to doubt that Mr Williamson was both an honest man and a zealous minister, whilst he gave unequivocal evidence of his sincerity by suffering deposition at the Revolution for refusing to read the Declaration in favour of the new Government.

The minutes of the Tulliallan kirk-session are for the most part of a domestic character, and bear little or no reference either to the troubles of the persecuting times which were then afflicting Scotland, or any public event which might be agitating the great world beyond the limits of Tulliallan. Something, indeed, of the same humdrum depressing influence clings to them that characterises at the present day the town of Kincardine itself. With all her quiet and sleepiness, Culross can still claim for herself a character and idiosyncrasy which are alike

impressed on her houses and streets, and on the pages of her burgh and kirk-session records. But no such attractiveness clings to Kincardine—though in making such a statement some allowance must certainly be made for the predilections and prejudices of a native of Culross.

In the same manner as the "middings" were the nightmare of the civic mind of Culross—a horrid incubus that could not be got rid of, or if they occasionally were made to disappear under a stern carrying out of the letter of the law, were yet sure, like the hydra, again to raise their head after a temporary suppression—did the "cruives" prove a perennial source of vexation to the ecclesiastical overseers in Tulliallan. These "cruives" were extensively used on the upper banks of the Forth, and more especially on the shores of the parishes of Culross and Tulliallan, for the purpose of fishing, and furnished a favourite occupation for the people. They consisted of a crib or framework of wood or wicker placed within low-water mark, from which the fish, after entering, were unable to escape, and were captured on the ebbing of the tide. Till very recently some of them were to be seen still at work near Kincardine; but their use, along with that of stake-nets and fixed apparatus of any kind, has been finally inhibited by the inspectors of fisheries in all parts of the Forth above Queensferry. This has emerged in consequence of the necessity of adopting measures for the preservation and increase of salmon in Scottish rivers. In bygone days, how-

ever, the cruives constituted an important branch of industry, and formed a valuable perquisite to the monks of Culross, who had a right reserved to them in the feu-charter of the adjoining lands of having the benefit of the cruive-fishings on Wednesdays and Fridays. After the Reformation we find a constant struggle maintained between the Church and the laity, in the endeavours of the former to enforce a more decorous observance of the Sabbath and an abstinence from the ordinary occupations of the week. I have elsewhere entered into this subject more fully, and so need not pursue its discussion further here. Suffice it to say, that in nothing did the ecclesiastical authorities of the district under consideration find it more difficult to restrain the populace than in preventing Sunday labour at the "cruives." The first entries of any interest in the Tulliallan session-book have reference to them. Here they are:—

"11 *October* 1674.

"Which day the session met, and Burnbrae's servant being delated for fishing the cruives upon the Lord's Day, was appointed to be summoned against the next session day."

"29 *Novr.*

"Which day the session met, and the above-mentioned person being cited, compeared not; wherefor thought it fit to acquaint the presbyterie with her obstinacie."

"4 *April.*

"Which day the session met, and Burnbrae's woman compeired, did supplicat the session, intreating that she might be censured by the minister and elders, and confessing her sin of fishing the cruves on the Sabboth. She was exhorted

to repent for that heinous sin. She was cited *apud acta* to be present the next session day."

The new church seems to have been nearly completed by the end of 1676. Contrary to what obtains at the present time, it does not appear that the seating of a church was regarded then as incumbent on the heritors of the parish, but was left to individual worshippers. The extraordinary diversity and irregularity of pews, which used to be so conspicuous in old-fashioned churches, are hence doubtless in great part to be accounted for. Those who were unable to provide pews for themselves, had either to stand or bring stools with them, as is said to have been a common practice with the females of a congregation. These on one memorable occasion were turned to useful account in St Giles's Church, Edinburgh, when Jenny Geddes set the example of revolt against the introduction of the Service-book by hurling her stool at the head of the Dean of Edinburgh. The following entries refer to the seating and other arrangements consequent on the opening of the church of Tulliallan :—

"15 *October* 1676.

"Which day it was ordained that the seats in the old kirk should be transported to the new kirk, upon the session's expenses."

"22 *October* 1676.

"Which day the session ordained that those who claimed right to the old seats should show their rights to manifest the truth of them.

"It is also ordained that each person should pay to the box £2 Scots for the ground meal [1] of their dask." [2]

"12 *Novr.* 1676.

"Which day the session, considering the paucity of their number, elected the persons following as verie fit to be administrators in church affaires, their life and conversation (for ought known) being honest, and not repugnant to the doctrine of truth—viz., for Kingcardine, Will. Livingstone, Jo. Mershel, David Wannan; for the Sands, Will. Sands; for the Lurge, Jo. Cumming in the Myres."

"31 *Decr.* 1676.

"Which day the session appointed that the two collectors of the offering should in time of the forenoon sermon search the town of Kincarn, and who collected the Sabbath preceding should search in the tyme of the afternoon sermon."

"*January* 1677.

"Which day the session met, and ordained that Will. Mill, thesaurer, should draw up an account of the expences out of the box for repairing of the old seats, or any other way, and present the same to them, with an extract of those who intend to have seats in the new kirk; as also that the Reader give ane extract of those who were booked in the old session-book as having right to the seats of the old kirk: which was done accordinglie shortlie thereafter."

The first Communion in the new church appears to have been celebrated on 15th July 1677. The following order had preceded it, and shows that the old Presbyterial rigour of discipline regarding personal examination was maintained, in Tulliallan at all events, even in the days of Prelacy:—

[1] Mail or rent. [2] Desk.

"2 *July* 1677.

"Which day the session met: the minister declared how some in the parish, but especially in the town of Kincarne, absented themselves from the examination; and therefore intreated the elders in their respective quarters to exhort all who wilfully absent themselves from the aforesaid discipline to repair to the kirk to be examined at the dyats prescribed in the following week, with certification that if they neglect so to do that they shall be censured for their contempt as the session shall think fit."

The following orders are directed against Sabbath desecration:—

"24 *March* 1678.

"Which day the session convened, the minister declared that he was informed of several abuses acted in the town of Kingcarn by multitudes meeting together and exercising themselves in and sinful speeches on the Lord's Day; as also that others resorted to ale-houses. Wherefor the session, considering these abuses, ordained that if any be found guiltie of the aforesaid offences they should be censured as open prophaners of the Lord's Day; which Act the minister intimated publickly the Sabbath following."

"16 *March* 1679.

"Which day the session met, and no faults were delated, but the minister exhorted the elders to be diligent in searching and trying out all prophaners of the Lord's Day, that they may be censured."

"25 *July* 1680.

"Which day the session mett, and was informed that people within this parioch usually flocked together on the Sabbaths most scandalously. Wherefore the session ordained, and did enact, that herefter no person nor persons should be found in the fields or streets, but specially in ail-houses,

after six a'cloak at night on the Sabbath-day, without a warrantable occasion, with certification to the transgressors of these said Acts that they shall be censured as profaners of the Lord's Day; which Act is to be publicklie intimated by the minister next Sabboth, that none pretend ignorance, —which was done accordingly."

And the following refer to some parochial matters which are not without interest after the lapse of two centuries:—

"31 *August* 1679.

"Which day the session met, and ordained that the kirk-yeard dyke should be perfyted by the workmen in all haste."

"19 *October* 1679.

"Which day the session met, and appointed collectors for the money which the inhabitants of this parish have willingly offered to buy a bell to the kirk."

"5 *October* 1679.

"Which day the session met, and desired John Calendar, bailie, to search out a mortcloath of good velvet for the session's use, who have wholly resolved to imploy their box-money for buying therof."

"7 *December* 1679.

"Which day the session met, and the new velvet mort-cloath (which was appointed to be bought by the bailie on the session's account) was appointed to be let out to any burial within the parish for 1 lib. 10 sh. Scots,[1] and to strangers for 1 lib. 16 sh.[2] The pryce of this said mortcloath was 185 libs. 6 sh. 4,[3] which was taken out of the kirk box as said is before."

[1] 2s. 6d. sterling. [2] 3s. sterling.

[3] £15, 8s. 10⅓d. sterling. This was fully equivalent to £50 at the present day. Black velvet seems to have been a favourite extrava-

"8 *October* 1682.

"Which day the session met, the minister produced a letter from the bishop in order to a collection for building the bridge betwixt Grange and Salen; which, being approved, was appointed to be publickly intimat, which was done."

It is satisfactory to find that unfounded allegations against any one in the matter of Sabbath desecration were severely dealt with:—

"7 *January* 1683.

"Which day the session mett, compeared Marjorie Drysdale, being cited for slandering of persons whom she said fished the creeves on the Sabbath, and could not prove it; she was appointed to satisfie publickly as a slanderer, which she did accordingly the next Sabboth."

On 11th May 1684 a curious case is reported, in which a collier is brought up and "sharply reproved" for, among other offences, "causing his son write disgraceful words in imperfect Latine and English," by way of libel on a neighbour.

An uproar breaks out among Lord Kincardine's colliers in reference to their kirk loft:—

"13 *February* 1687.

"Which day the session did meet. Tho. Younger declared that the colhewers had taken the loft door-key from [him] violently; wherefor the said Thomas was appointed to go to John Halowday, bailie, to desire him to cause them render

gance with our ancestors both in the church and the playhouse. The epilogues to tragedies in Shakespeare's time were generally spoken by one of the players habited in a splendid cloak of black velvet, for which enormous sums were frequently paid.

the said key, and to cause James Hutton desist from working in the kirk loft to the said colehewers any more."

"13 *March* 1687.

"The insolencie of the colehewers is referred to the civil magistrate."

The following very brief entry of the same date as the foregoing will be interesting to all who have read 'The Antiquary':—

"Which day Will Archibald, blew gown, is appointed to be inrolled among our poor."

A great change has now taken place, and Presbytery has again come into the ascendant. Mr Williamson having refused to read the Declaration recognising the new government of William and Mary, he is deposed by the Privy Council; and Mr John Forrest, who had been deprived of the living in 1665, returns to his old charge of Tulliallan.

"1690.

"In which year this parish wrote a call to Mr Jo. Forrest, then residing in Dantzick, to return to his charge of the ministrie in Tilliallan (out of which he was violently deposed by the prelats anno 1665), according to Act of Counsell; who accepted of the said call, and returned here on Septr. 27, 1690."

Though, as already stated, Tulliallan seems to have been more favourably situated as regards spiritual matters than most other parishes during the reigns of Charles and James II., there is undoubted evidence that, even in the best-regulated communities during that period, there was a great decay of eccle-

siastical discipline, and doubtless also of general morals. Whilst the Presbyterian charioteers held the reins too tight, the Prelatists guided the team with such laxity and remissness, except when nonconformity was concerned, that there was great danger of a reckless course being entered on of irreligion and profligacy. The Presbyterians were now again in power; and the more zealous spirits among them were doubtless indulging the vision of a return of those palmy days, in the years immediately following the subscription of the Covenants, when something like the re-establishment of a theocracy seemed almost on the point of attainment. But by the end of the century things were considerably changed, and the new theories as to constitutional government and personal freedom which were coming into vogue, and had tended in great measure to bring about the Revolution, were also strongly assertive of the right of private judgment, and liberty of thought and practice, in so far as these were in unison with the maintenance of public order and morality. The Presbyterians, like other religionists of the old school, were not only slow in recognising the truth of these positions, but were likewise resolute to the utmost of their power in combating and delaying their reception. But, in fairness, the charge of bigotry and narrow-mindedness cannot more reasonably be laid at their door than against other communities of the time, both secular and ecclesiastic. They had had, it must be remembered, to wage a struggle between life and death; and they could neither be expected

to have shown themselves possessed of a superhuman spirit of forbearance in the hour of victory, nor animated by ideas in advance of the age in which they lived. Imperfect as both their notions and practice were, there can be no doubt of the foundations of the liberty and security which we now enjoy having been laid by the English Puritans and Scottish Covenanters. Had they failed, or been less resolute in the struggle, the consequences could have been nothing short of a career of misery and degradation for Great Britain.

Let us now revert to the Tulliallan kirk-session, and see how they endeavour to regulate matters of religious observance and public morality.

"10 *March* 1691.

"The which day the session appointed that no person should fish their crowes, bring in cail or water, haunt or go to hostler-houses, or go to the backwood, or go in companys to the ash brays in Kingcardine on the Sabbath-dayes, certifying all such who shall be found guilty of any of the foresaid sins of Sabbath-breaking, they shall be both lyable to Church censure, and also committed to the hands of the civil magistrate; for which cause the elders are appointed (who collect that day) to go and search Kingcardine in time of divine service, and to wait on the crowes on the Sabbath, and to report or delate delinquents whom they shall find to the next session: which Act is to be read publickly by the minister, that none pretend ignorance, the next Sabbath; which was done accordingly after the first sermon."

The "ash brays" or "ash braes" is a locality which still bears the same name in Kincardine. It does not denote, as might be supposed, an eminence planted

with ash-trees, but the heaps and hillocks formed of the ashes of the salt-pans, which in time became overgrown with grass. A great portion of the modern town of Kincardine is built on a stratum of these ashes.

"31 *October* 1693.

"Which day the session mett, compeared James Wannan, and acknowledged his guilt in drinking, without any limitation, the confusion of the inhabitants of Tulliallan, which was also evidenced by witnesses; which the session considering, appointed him to be publiquely rebuked upon the next Sabbath-day, which was intimate to him."

The parish schoolmaster was, in former times, regarded as holding a monopoly in imparting instruction. Sewing-schools were, of course, excepted.

"25 *July* 1694.

"The qlk day the session, considering that there are some privat schools kept within this parish, to the discouragement of the ordinary schoolmaster, does hereby prohibit and discharge any person whatsoever from keeping any privat school for learning or educating of youths within the congregation, except for lasses; and this to be intimat from the pulpit next Lord's Day."

"25 *November* 1695.

"The session, considering the abuses committed at penny bridalls, and the offence given by promiscuous dancing, have resolved, and hereby do appoint, that the minister admonish publickly from the pulpit next Lord's Day, that persons to be married shall not call nor invit such confluences of people to their marriges, and that the minister shall not solemnize the marriage of any parties, being pariochiners, but such as shall engadge there shall be no promiscuous dancing at their marriage."

Here is a curious and characteristic reason assigned for the erection of a church clock :—

"25 *November* 1695.

"Which day the session, considering how usefull a clock would be in the steeple of the church, especiallie to regulate the fishers of the croves, who frequently are guilty of breach of Sabbath, and when challenged pretend ignorance as to the time, have hereby resolved to have one; and for that end appoints the minister and John Crockett to agree for a workman for a clock to the said steeple, hereby engadging that what they expend for the same they shall see them reimbursed."

An irreverent shoemaker beards the kirk-session:—

"19 *Decr.* 1695.

"After prayer, session mett. Compeared John Peacock, shoemaker in Kincardine, and confessed his fishing of the croes on the Sabbath-day, and endeavoured to vindicate the lawfulness thereof, alledging that it was as lawful to fish the croes on Sabbath as milk a cow, with other irreverent actes; therefor was summoned *apud acta* to the next presbetry, and the session refer the same to the presbetry to determine thereon. Appoints David Wannan, Gilbert Millar, James Davidson, to be cited against next session day."

"16 *Septr.* 1696.

"Qlk day session mett. John Penny being called, compeared, and being interrogated anent his going to the mill on Sabbath evening, and of his carrying a pock beneath his arm, acknowledged his going to mill betwixt 7 and 8 o'clock at night, and his having of a pock, but nothing in it; and it being laid seriously home to him by the minister, in name of the session, confessed his fault therein, was grieved that it should have given offence, and promised never to be seen in the like in time coming."

The kirk-session records of Tulliallan, like those of Culross, testify frequently to the scarcity and distress that marked the close of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century :—

"9 *December* 1696.

"The qlk day the session, considering the heavy strock of scarcity and sickness that the parish are lying under, and the abounding sin thereof, have resolved to keep a day of fast and humiliation, to plead with God for the removal of the same; and for that effect have set apart this day fourth night for a day of humiliation in this congregation."

On 7th March 1697 some cruive-fishers are again brought up, and make the old excuse of horological ignorance :—

"The session, considering that they could not specify the precise time, whether it was Sabbath night or Monday morning, as they alleged, resolved they should be all called in and rebuked for going to the croves at least so near the Sabbath-day, if not upon it, and admonished to be more tender in time coming, otherways to be proceeded against by publique censure; who accordingly were called in, rebuked and admonished by the minister, and dismissed."

So this case ends, but fresh ones soon appear.

"20 *November* 1697.

"The session are informed that Longannet croves were fished Sabbath last at night; appoints the officer to cite such persons as fished them, particularly David Lyell."

"12 *December* 1697.

"Which day the session met. After prayer, the officer reports that he had cited David Lyell, who, being called, compeared, and charged with fishing of the croves lately

upon the Sabboth-day, denyed the same, but acknowledged that he went there about nyne o'clock at night to preserve his own croves from some people that had come out of Culross to steal fish, whom he professed he knew not; he was exhorted to a conscientious observation of the Sabbath, and to inform the session when he should see any fishing them on the Sabbath, in regard he lived hard by them, which he undertook to do."

"15 *February* 1698.

"Which day session mett. After prayer the session, considering the great strait the poor are in, the meal being at 16s. or 18s. per peck, have resolved to give the double allowance unto all the poor of the parioch until the Lord be pleased to send plenty; and for that end allows the thesaurer to give to the poor of the parish according as he understands their straits, in the intervalls betwixt sessions, and to lay his depursements every day before the session to be judged by them."

The above entry exhibits the terrible scarcity which prevailed in Scotland at the close of the seventeenth and opening of the eighteenth century. The price stated of the peck of oatmeal—16s. to 18s. Scots, or 1s. 4d. to 1s. 6d. sterling—would be equivalent to at least 4s. at the present day. Many of us have heard old people speak of a similar state of matters which characterised the years 1800 and 1801.

The elders appointed to watch at the cruives on Sunday evenings are roughly handled by the fishers:

"3 *January* 1699.

"Which day sessione mett. After prayer, David Wannan and John Turcan report they waited on Lord's night at the

croves, with design to have keept them from being fished, but that about 10 o'clock at night there came above fourtie or fiftie persons, so that they found it impossible to hinder them, and while endeavouring to hinder them the rabble threatened to throw them into the sea. The session, considering the same, appoints them to give up all the names of such as they saw there to the baylie of the regality, and in name of this session desire they might be punished according to law for their breach of Sabboth."

The kirk-session of Tulliallan seems to have been greatly exercised by the perverse conduct of many of the parishioners in insisting in using the fishing-cruives on Sunday. Repeated reproofs and exhortations had no effect, and to their additional chagrin the civil magistrates refused their concurrence in coercing and punishing the delinquents. A certain Bailie Halliday, overseer of the Kincardine salt-works, is spoken of, in an entry dated 1st November 1699, as a person who had hitherto declined to interpone his authority, but to whom the minister and kirk-session determine that a final appeal should once more be made to induce him to do his duty, most of the offenders being under his superintendence as salters. Apparently, however, the only weapon left to the Church is the sentence of lesser excommunication, which is ordered to be employed in future against those who persist in desecrating the Sabbath evenings by cruive-fishing.

The word "cruive," spelled also "cruve" and "crove," and generally pronounced like the French participle *cru*, seems to be identical with the English

"crib," which comes from the Anglo-Saxon *crybbe*, or the old Swedish *krubba*, an enclosure. Probably also it is related to the Gaelic *craobh*, a tree. In ordinary Scottish it means a pigsty, which is thus commonly designated a "sow croo." In further reference to the cruive-fishing, it may not be amiss to quote the following from the Old Statistical Account of Culross. After stating that herrings and garvies are extensively caught on the shores of Culross and Tulliallan, more especially the latter, it goes on to say:—

"One of these cruives will sometimes yield of herrings and garvies in a season to the value of £6, 8s., and in an extraordinary good year even £10. There are at Kincardine, 4 miles west from Culross, 61 cruives; at Longannet, a mile and a half nearer Culross, 83; and at another new station midway between these, nicknamed by the fishers Botany Bay, 35. In lucky seasons, such as was the year 1783, it was computed that betwixt Kincardine and Longannet there were caught of fish to the value of £1000[1] and upwards. The cruive-fishing season is from the month of August till the beginning of March. In the darkness and gloom of winter, and even amidst all the horrors of the tempest, the fishing of the cruives exhibits a very gay and enlivening scene; men and women of all ages, and in different companies, resorting to them and carrying lamps of flaming charcoal, which are seen at a distance through the dark, moving in all directions, accompanied with the mixed cries of emulation, merriment, and hope. The cruives belonged originally to the Abbot of Culross, but after the Reformation, were parcelled out among the several proprietors who succeeded to the Church lands."

[1] It will of course be understood that in the present quotation all the amounts stated are in sterling money.

From the above glowing account it is evident that the cruive-fishing must have had considerable attractions for the inhabitants of the district, and presented at all times a very gay and animated appearance. Whether by the end of the last century —to which the date of the publication of the Old Statistical Account is to be referred—these fishings still engaged the parishioners on Sunday evenings, in defiance of the fulminations of the kirk-session, I am really unable to say; but it is more than probable that the very fact of its being a forbidden occupation gave it an additional zest, and that as the prosecutions ceased, the practice of Sabbath desecration in reference to this matter fell also into abeyance. Certainly there is scarcely any further notice of it in the Tulliallan kirk-session records after the year 1700—though doubtless this absence, for many years subsequent to that date, is primarily attributable to the circumstance of the ecclesiastical authorities being denied the assistance of the civil power in enforcing their prosecutions.

The Old Statistical Account of Tulliallan gives also the following particulars regarding the cruives :—

"There are above 100 cruives in the parish, in which are caught herrings, whitings, haddocks, sparlings, sythe, sprats, cod, skate, with some few salmon and flounders. Of these last there are four different species, called here the *sole*, the *turbot*, the *sand*, and the *bunnock* flounders. The sole and turbot are esteemed the best. The average of a cruive in good and bad fishing-seasons is estimated between 40s. and 50s. yearly. . . . When the herring-fishery succeeds, it is a great benefit to the place and neighbourhood. These,

together with the potatoes, support the poor people for some months in the end of the year."

As already mentioned, the cruive-fishing has participated in the general decay of industry which for many years past has befallen the towns of Culross and Kincardine and the surrounding district. How far it might be possible to resuscitate it is a question of some uncertainty. It is said that fish of all sorts abound in the deep channel of the Firth as far up at least as Kincardine, and persons still living speak of having been regularly employed by the late Sir Robert Preston of Valleyfield in procuring there, by means of nets, a supply of fish for his table. The introduction of steam-navigation, however, in a tract of water confined within such comparatively narrow bounds, may possibly have caused the migration of its finny denizens to the freer and more extended domain of the lower Firth and the German Ocean. People have likewise become more particular in recent times as to the quality of the fish they eat, and there can be little doubt that many of the fish that find their way above Queensferry are spent and exhausted individuals.

"6 *January* 1703.

"Sederunt: Minister and all the Elders. After prayer the minister informs the session that he having met with the minister of Clackmannan, he complained upon John and Edward Bruce in this parish, they having been at the laird of Clackmannan's house upon the 25th of December last, at a feast which was offensive to the session there, and desired they might do so no more, the said laird being an excommunicat person; which the session considering, they

appointed Thomas Primrose, one of their number, to go and admonish them."

"17 *Feby.* 1703.

"Sederunt: Minister and all the Elders. After prayer Thomas Primrose reported he had obeyed the appointment in rebuking and admonishing John and Edward Bruce."

These two last entries certainly give a strange idea of Presbyterial interference in those days, when two individuals belonging to the congregation are subjected to discipline for having eaten a Christmas dinner at the house of a neighbouring proprietor, who was, moreover, in all probability a relation of their own. The Bruces of Clackmannan were stanch Jacobites; and the then laird had probably incurred the hostility of the Kirk by attending the ministrations of one of the dispossessed Prelatist ministers of the *régime* preceding the Revolution. They may possibly, indeed, have had more serious charges against him; but doubtless the great provocation in the present instance was the celebration of a Yule festival. The lairds of Clackmannan claimed direct connection with the family of King Robert Bruce, and even maintained themselves to be an elder branch of the Bruce family, of which the Scottish king was only a cadet. Their male line became extinct on the death, in 1772, of Henry Bruce of Clackmannan, whose widow died in 1791, at the age of ninety-five, and was visited by Robert Burns and Dr Adair on the occasion of their excursion to Harvieston, a few miles from Clackmannan, at the foot of the Ochils. The old lady bequeathed to the Earl

of Elgin, as the next representative of the Bruce family, the sword and helmet in her possession, which were said to have been worn by King Robert at the battle of Bannockburn. She was the last occupant of Clackmannan Tower, which adjoins the town of that name, and forms a prominent object in the beautiful landscape which spreads itself out, in looking down the Forth from Stirling Castle, between the Ochils and the river.

Under date May 2, 1705, a deliverance of the General Assembly is reported, reversing those of the Presbytery and Synod, who had ordered the translation of Mr Buchanan from the ministry of Tulliallan to that of Kilmadock. These translations appear sometimes to have been made in a very arbitrary manner—as in this instance both the minister and congregation were strongly opposed to the change, and were subjected to the trouble and expense of two appeals before they were allowed to exercise in peace their own wishes in the matter.

On 13th June an Act of session is passed obliging parties about to be married to give a bond of £40 Scots that there should be no guests beyond a certain number, nor any "promiscuous dancing" at the wedding, otherwise the banns should not be proclaimed.

"13 *Feby.* 1706.

"The said day the session, understanding that several people are said to stay too late in taverns in the town of Kincardin—especially on the Saturdays night—they resolve that two of their number shall go weekly to every tavern in Kincardin every Saturday for some time, and

report if they see any guilty; and for that end appoints Walter Stewart and John Wright to go upon Saturday next."

"21 *Feby.* 1706.

"Walter Stewart and John Wright report that they visited all the taverns in Kincardin, but found nothing censurable."

"3 *March* 1706.

"Those who visited the taverns of Kincardin repeat they saw nothing censurable."

Kincardine must have been a very good place indeed in those days. Did the worthy elders ascertain the goodness of the liquor sold, as well as the decorum preserved in the taverns?

"14 *December* 1709.

"The said day the session are informed that James Robertson, carrier in Kincardin, and William Wightman in Gartairie, hath of late brought Episcopal ministers into their houses and baptized their children; for which they appoint them to be cited to their next meeting."

"1 *January* 1710.

"The said day the session considering the abounding sickness, the great decay of trade, and that the fishing in this parish is wholly decayed this year, and the great straits the workpeople in Kincardin are reduced unto since October last, together with the unfruitfulness under the means of grace, &c., they appoint a congregational fast to be kept the eighteenth current."

Of this date—19th November 1710—a deliverance of the Commission of the General Assembly is reported, by which Mr Thomas Buchanan is ordered to be transferred from the charge of Tulliallan parish to that of Dunfermline. The Presbytery of Dunblane

had decreed his continuance in Tulliallan; but an appeal being taken by the parish of Dunfermline, the Commission of Assembly decided that he must be removed.

"18 *March* 1711.

"The said day the session appointed James Miln, one of their number, to attend the Presbytrie of Dunblane Tuesday next, in their name, to petition them for supplie, and particularly to intreat for a hearing of Mr Ralph Erskine, preacher of the Gospel, for the time living in Culross; and to desire the said presbytrie to grant a written warrand to this session to invite any neighbouring minister to supply us in case of vacancy, and to report."

Ralph Erskine was at this time tutor and chaplain in the family of the Black Colonel, then residing in the Colonel's Close, Culross, as I have already had occasion to mention. He received another call about the same time, to the second charge of Dunfermline, to which he was preferred; and Tulliallan thus probably escaped the honour of becoming afterwards the cradle of Dissent. Being thus disappointed of Ralph, it set its affections on his brother, Ebenezer Erskine, then minister of Portmoak, on Loch Leven.

Ebenezer Erskine was not destined, any more than his brother Ralph, to make Tulliallan famous as the scene of his ministry—an honour which was reserved respectively for Stirling and Dunfermline. The subsequent history of the two brothers is well known—their opposition to what they considered as an unscriptural usurpation of the rights of congregations in the appointment of their ministers, and a generally lax and corrupt system both as regards doctrine and

the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline, and their refusal to recognise and enforce certain obnoxious decrees of the Church courts,—all which culminated ultimately in their secession from the Church of Scotland, and the establishment of a dissenting community of Presbyterians, which from small beginnings has grown to be a formidable rival to the mother-Church. These two brothers, whose names are so inseparably connected with the great secession in the last century, were the sons of a Presbyterian minister on the Borders, who is said to have had a family of no less than thirty-three children. He was a cadet of the Mar family, and related to Colonel John Erskine of Carnock, in whose household, as we have seen, his son Ralph acted as chaplain previous to his appointment to the ministry of Dunfermline.

"6 *December* 1713.

"The session appointed George Ramsay and James Dewar to repair to Culross to-morrow, and to converse with Colonel Erskine in order to the settlement of this place, and to report."

"11 *July* 1714.

"The said day given to Mistress Crocket, for maintaining fifteen probationers, twenty pounds Scots; and for five Bibles of London print, six pounds thirteen shillings four pennies Scots."

"21 *July* 1714.

"The Presbytery of Dunblane being convened here, Mr Hugh Walker, minister at Lecropt, after sermon admitted Mr George Mair minister of this congregation, in face of the said presbytrie and congregation."

Mr Mair, it will be remembered, had been one of

the ministers of Culross. Let us now return to our small-beer chronicles :—

"6 *Octr.* 1714.

"The session appointed Robert Coult, one of their number, to thatch the schoolmaster's house with hather, and make the same water-tight, and the treasurer to pay him for his pains."

Heather seems then to have been in common use for thatching, and doubtless it formed both a picturesque and sufficiently comfortable roof. Culross Moor furnished the material in abundance; and so sensible were the burgh authorities in Culross of the importance of the privilege, that we find, in the feu grants by the town to the Dundonald family, an express reservation to the inhabitants of access to the portion of the moor thus conveyed, at all times, for the purpose of pulling heather. At the present day little use is made of the plant, except for ornamental purposes; but in former times it was really a useful growth, and turned to account in many different ways. Besides being employed for thatching, an extensive industry was carried on in the manufacture of heather *reenges* and *besoms*. The former consists of a number of stalks of heath bound together, and has long been in repute as a most useful implement for rinsing and cleansing pots and pans. The latter term explains itself as a broom or besom, made of a bundle of heather-stalks fastened to the end of a stick. The cutting and manufacture of these used to constitute a great business for itinerant vendors of the articles in question, and the occupa-

tion is not yet extinct. The *reenges* were always of heather; the *besoms* were sometimes of heather and sometimes of broom. The following cry used to be well known:—

"Buy broom besoms, better never grew;
Bonnie heather reenges, wha'll hae them noo?
Besoms for a penny, reenges for a plack;
An ye winna hae them, tie them on my back!"

From the details of a session case about this period, it appears evident that Colonel Erskine of Carnock enjoyed at this time a heritable jurisdiction over the town and barony of Kincardine, as coming in the room of the earls of that title. The delinquent in question denied the authority of the session, and refused to show an extract of his alleged marriage; whereupon "the session refers him to the civil magistrate, that he may cause him subject himself to the session; and appoints an extract hereof to be sent to Colonel Erskine."

22 *February* 1716.

"After prayer—sed., minister and elders—William Wightman called, and compearing, persisted in his former denial; whereupon the witnesses being sworn and examined, unanimously agreed that he was not mistaken with drink in John Miln's house the 20th of January last, neither drunk any there that day, save two gills of aquavitæ; but some of the witnesses deponed that he proposed to drink the name of Erskine's good health: which the session considering, they ordered him to be admonished, to walk more circumspectly, and to wait more punctuallie upon the ordinances; which was done accordingly, and he dismist."

Mr Mair dies shortly after this, having exercised the ministry at Tulliallan for about two years :—

"9 *June* 1717.

"The session being informed that in May last James Wannan was found melling and breaking land on the Sabbath-day, appointed him to be cited to the next session."

"21 *July* 1717.

"James Wannan cited, called, and compearing, confest that he was at his work upon the Saturday, and going home his horse cast him, and he bled much at the nose, and thereafter fell asleep, and when he awaked on the Sabbath morning he did not know but it had been Saturday, and so he went away to break the clods unwittingly, for which he profest great grief; who being removed, and the session considering the same, he was called in and exhorted to a more cautious afterward, and dismist."

"17 *August* 1718.

"Wm. Scotland and George Ramsay report that they collected this day £21 Scots for the Lithuanian churches."

"1 *January* 1719.

"Sed.: Mr John Taylor, moderator *pro tempore*, and all the elders.

"The session considering that they have this day unanimously elected and chosen Mr Thomas Thomson to be their minister, appointed James Dewar and Wm. Scotland to repair to the Presbytrie of Dunblane Tuesday next, and present their call to them, and intreat for their concurrence therewith, and to report."

There is no notice of the settlement of Mr Thomson, but he appears as minister of Tulliallan and moderator of the kirk-session on 10th May of this year. There were frequently long vacancies in

charges in those days, and here we find that that of Tulliallan had been unprovided with a regular incumbent for nearly three years. One advantage, indeed, resulting from the restoration of the rights of patrons, was that of making compulsory the presentation to the benefice within six months of the first occurrence of the vacancy, otherwise the appointment of a minister accrued as a *jus devolutum* to the presbytery.

Of this date—16th May 1725—Mr Thomas Turner appears as minister of Tulliallan and moderator of the kirk-session. He was the successor of Mr Thomson, who had died in the preceding year.

"27 *March* 1726.

"The session appointed the minister to advertise the people from the pulpit Sabbath next to give no bad coin to the collection, and not to stand in the kirkyeard, but go straight into the kirk when they come."

Two women who are brought before the session on this day—17th November 1728—"confest that they did not keep the kirk so well as they could wish, in regard they had not plaids to take about them."

"30 *Decr.* 1737.

"Jean Coult cited, called, and interrogate, confest that Sabbath last, 25th instant, she did give a blow with her Bible to Grisill Coult when she attempted to come into her seat, profest her great grief for the same, and promised never to do the like again; and (she being removed, and the affair considered, and she being called in again) was rebuked and dismist."

As in Culross, the session records of Tulliallan begin at this period to show a great many censures passed in consequence of irregular and clandestine marriages :—

"27 *Decr.* 1740.

"Said day the session, considering the frequency of irregular marriages, enacted, and hereby appoint, that all and every one that shall marry clandestinely or irregularly in any time coming, shall pay in to the session-box for the use of the poor four shillings sterling *toties quoties*, and beside the kirk dues."

"7 *April* 1745.

"The Reverend the Presbytery of Dunblane having met at this place, and after sermon preached by the Revd. Mr James Richie, minister at Aberfoile, he, together with the presbetry, by prayer and imposition of hands did solemnly set apart Mr George Anderson to be minister of this congregation."

"12 *June* 1757.

"The Rev. Mr Steedman did, by appointment of the Presbytery of Dumblane, declare this kirk vacant."

The entries in this session-book come down to 1820, but are of no value in a historical or archæological point of view, after the date last above quoted. The vacancy then announced was filled up in the following year by the appointment of Mr Robert Brown, who died in 1787, and was succeeded in 1788 by the Rev. David Simson, who died in 1821. Mr Simson's place was supplied in 1822 by Dr George Skene Keith, father of the celebrated Dr Keith, author of the treatise on the 'Prophecies,' and grandfather of the distinguished surgeon of the same name. Dr Keith, who had been translated

from Keith in Morayshire, did not survive for a year his induction to Tulliallan, having died in March 1823, in consequence of an illness brought on in encountering the toil of wading through the snow to attend a meeting of presbytery. He was succeeded in 1823 by the Rev. Andrew Bullock, who died in 1836, and was succeeded the same year by the Rev. George Hope Monilaws, who in 1847 was translated to Peebles. Mr Monilaws was succeeded in 1848 by the present incumbent, the Rev. John Smeaton.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GENERAL HISTORY OF CULROSS AND TULLIALLAN FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE LAST CENTURY DOWN TO THE PRESENT DAY.

ACCORDING to the Old Statistical Account of Culross, compiled in the end of the last century, a marked decrease in the population of the parish took place between 1755 and 1791, and for this several reasons are assigned. As regards the landward portion, it is asserted that the cause is to be looked for in the improvements in agriculture which had rendered a smaller number of labourers necessary for the cultivation of the soil, in the increased size of the farms, and in the fact of many of the heritors having taken the management of the land into their own hands. For the decrease of the population of the town of Culross the following, among other reasons, is stated: "The loss or decay of several branches of manufacture formerly carried on there, particularly girdlemaking and shoemaking: the former is now supplanted by the Carron Works; the latter was first checked by the last

American war, which put a stop for a while to the export trade, and by this discouragement it has gradually fallen into decay."

The general depopulation of the rural districts had, not many years before this period, engaged largely the attention both of statesmen and philanthropists; and Oliver Goldsmith had, by the exquisite description in his "Deserted Village," invested the subject with the halo of his poetical genius. The truth of the allegation could not indeed well be gainsaid, and as a truth it has only been more certainly and firmly established by the lapse of more than a century. But whilst the poet or the inveterate bewailer of bygone usages may be permitted to regret the diminished numbers of the rural inhabitants, as well as the still more notable changes in their modes of life, it must be always remembered that in the advance of culture and civilisation such a revolution becomes almost inevitable. As commerce extends and develops itself, the large towns which form its natural centres gradually increase, and absorb a large portion of the country population, which would otherwise have vegetated on a scanty supply and insufficient resources; whilst amongst those who remain, the increase in wages and the price of agricultural produce secures for them a participation in the advantages diffused by the general spread of material prosperity. In the enormous increase which has taken place in the population of the United Kingdom generally, it is mainly in the cities and large towns that this is to be found, whilst the number of

inhabitants in the villages and open country has commonly diminished. Of late, indeed, there has been a tendency in the great cities to swallow up the country by the extension of suburbs, and the erection of streets and villas round railway stations, from which an easy access is obtained to and from the capital. Thus London threatens ere long to incorporate Middlesex, and Glasgow may almost be said to reach to Loch Lomond.

The same urging causes which produce the depopulation of the country and the ever-increasing growth of the large towns, transfer thither from the small burghs the trade manufactures and sources of subsistence. Skilled artisans carry their labour to a better market, commodities are procured both better and cheaper from the cities, and the immensely increased facilities for locomotion lead to travelling about, and the effacement, more or less complete, of the characteristic types of a locality. Centralisation becomes the great feature of social and commercial activity, and the smaller and more isolated establishments of human industry are overshadowed and extinguished by the mightier institutions resulting from the combination of wealth and labour.

In addition to those depressing influences, which she shared with many other rural communities, Culross was affected by some special circumstances which were peculiar to herself. The coal in her district—at least the strata lying next the surface—had been wellnigh exhausted, and the attempts to obtain a

further supply had only been productive of labour and expense. The salt-pans, once fifty in number, which had studded the sea-shore, were now reduced to a few, partly in consequence of the diminished supply of coal, partly of the increasing use of rock-salt and the general decline of commercial activity; and greatest of all, the girdlemaking monopoly had both been declared untenable by the higher courts of law, and the manufacture rendered unremunerative by the establishment in the Carse of Falkirk of the famous Carron Works, where all sorts of household implements, girdles included, were produced at a cheaper rate, though certainly of an inferior quality to those made of wrought-iron.

With the departure of trade and manufactures, and the progressive tendency of society towards levelling all eccentricities of character and peculiarities of place and class, the "annals of the parish" become in Culross, as elsewhere, of a very prosaic and uninteresting description. This applies equally to the kirk-session and the burgh records; and these being now foreclosed, there remains little, in the absence of any remarkable incidents in connection with the great centres of public interest, that can afford entertainment or instruction to the reader.

In the case of Tulliallan the conditions were somewhat different from those of Culross. Since the days of Sir George Bruce there had been carried on here an extensive trade in the working of coal and manufacture of salt; and the latter industry seems to have continued longer, though at its period of greatest

prosperity it must be regarded as belonging chiefly to the parish of Culross, which previous to 1659 comprised the principal part of the salt-making territory, as well as of the ground on which the modern town of Kincardine is built. We are informed that at one time there were thirty-five salt-pans in the parish of Tulliallan, a number which about the middle of the last century had decreased to twenty-one. All have now disappeared, the present town of Kincardine being built in great measure on the ashes resulting from the operations at the so-called West Pans; whilst those of the New Pans, about half a mile to the east, go to form a prominent grassy ridge.

Meantime, whilst the coal and salt trades were declining, another important industry was springing up in Tulliallan. The shipping and coasting trade, which in ancient times had been little exercised on the Forth above Culross and Borrowstounness, moved latterly higher up, and established themselves with great success at Grangemouth, Alloa, and Kincardine. With regard to the first of these places, it owed its existence originally to the formation of the Forth and Clyde Canal, which has here its eastern outlet, —a favourable situation which, combined with the proximity of the Carron Works, has maintained the ever-increasing prosperity of Grangemouth up to the present day. The same cause, and also, it is said, the exorbitant dues exacted at the port of Leith, may have contributed to the rise and prosperous career of the others. Speaking of Kincardine, the Old Statistical Account says :—

"In the beginning of this [the eighteenth] century there were no shipping of any consequence belonging to it. They had only five boats, from 10 to 20 tons burden. These were employed in carrying salt to Leith, and importing from thence wood and iron for the use of the pans and in the lime trade. They went no further. But after some ship-carpenters had come to settle in it, the spirit for shipbuilding prevailed so much, that in 1740 they had 30 vessels, from 15 to 60 tons burden, amounting to 860 tons. In 1745 several of these were employed in Government service. When the coal was working and the salt-pans going, they had abundance of exports; but since they were given up, they have had none. Yet this did not destroy their spirit for trade and shipbuilding, for they had the address and good sense to become carriers to other ports. . . . Vessels of 200 and 300 tons have been built here for the West Indian trade and the Greenland fishery. In 1786 there were nine vessels upon the stocks at one time, and the number then belonging to the place was 91, and their tonnage 5461, which is about 200 tons more than what belongs to Alloa and the whole precincts of that port at present, and more than half of the tonnage of Leith in that year."

The prosperity above indicated as a port and shipbuilding station continued long afterwards to be enjoyed by Kincardine. About 1830 the number of shipowners in the place was calculated at upwards of fifty; whilst in proof of the extent to which the inhabitants devoted themselves to this branch of trade, it is only necessary to consult the tombstones in the churchyard at Tulliallan—to judge from which, one would conclude that almost no other profession was known. But times are now changed; and though a good many seafaring people are connected with the place, they are almost all *emeriti;* scarcely a vessel

is to be seen in the harbour, and not one has been built for many years.

One other industry may be mentioned from which in bygone days both Culross and Tulliallan derived considerable reputation, and which till very recently employed a large number of persons in both parishes. I refer to the extensive freestone quarries at Longannet and Blair, the latter of which has only very lately, and it is to be hoped also only temporarily, been closed. Both supply an excellent quality of building-stone, which has long been celebrated, and exported not only to distant parts of Scotland, but likewise to foreign places. Longannet quarry, on the sea-shore, about a mile below Kincardine, enjoys the most ancient renown, but for many years has been wholly abandoned. It formerly belonged to the Earls of Kincardine, and in the latter half of the seventeenth century a negotiation was opened with the proprietor by the Jews of Amsterdam, for the purpose of procuring from thence a supply of stones for building their synagogue. Circumstances prevented the arrangement being carried out; but a well-authenticated tradition prevails that the town-house and other buildings in Amsterdam were built of stones from Longannet quarry. At a later period it supplied material for the erection of the Royal Exchange, the Infirmary, and the Register Office in Edinburgh, besides that of many buildings in its own neighbourhood. Blair quarry, about two miles above Culross, has been no less famous. Like Longannet, it produces a beautiful white sandstone, soft

and easy to work, and at the same time possessing the property of hardening in the open air and retaining its original whiteness unsullied. Drury Lane Theatre; St Mary's Church, Edinburgh; and more recently, acres of buildings adjoining Bruntsfield Links, in the Scottish capital, have been built from this quarry.

The history of the two parishes for more than a century now past, resolves itself mainly into that of some of the leading county families. The earlier history of several of these has already been given, and I accordingly proceed to supplement and continue the accounts where necessary and desirable.

During the last century, almost exactly from beginning to end, Culross Abbey and the lands immediately adjoining, remained the property of the Cochranes of Ochiltree, who in 1758 succeeded to the earldom of Dundonald. The title was first bestowed on Sir William Cochrane of Cowdon, in the county of Renfrew, who, having been first created a peer by Charles I. in 1647, under the designation of Lord Cochrane of Dundonald, was in 1669 elevated by Charles II. to the dignity of earl. He died in 1686; and as his eldest son William Lord Cochrane predeceased him, he was succeeded in the title by his grandson John, who was the father of William and John Cochrane, third and fourth Earls of Dundonald, succeeding respectively in 1690 and 1705.

The second son of the first Earl of Dundonald was the Hon. Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree; and a daughter, Lady Jean Cochrane, was the wife of the

famous John Graham of Claverhouse, afterwards Viscount Dundee.

The Hon. Sir John Cochrane above mentioned was a zealous Whig and Presbyterian; and having been obliged to take refuge in Holland in consequence of his negotiations with the Duke of Monmouth, he returned from thence with the Earl of Argyll in his ill-fated expedition to Scotland in 1685. On the dispersion of Argyll's forces, Sir John Cochrane had an encounter with the king's troops, in which Captain Cleland was killed; and having afterwards taken refuge with his uncle, Gavin Cochrane of Craigmuir, whose wife was a sister of the Captain, she denounced in revenge her nephew to the authorities. He was conducted to Edinburgh, bound and bareheaded, and only escaped death by his father, Lord Dundonald, purchasing his pardon with a considerable sum of money. Sir John subsequently managed to make his peace with James II., who sent him down to Scotland in 1687 to negotiate with the Presbyterians regarding the relaxation of the penal laws, a measure really and solely conceived by James in the interest of the Roman Catholics. Something in Sir John's character and procedure is not quite satisfactory here. His forfeiture, however, had not yet been rescinded, and was not till after the Revolution. Little further is recorded of him. He married Margaret Strickland, daughter of Sir William Strickland of Boynton, Yorkshire, one of Cromwell's Lords of Parliament, and was the father of William Cochrane of Ochiltree, who, as already mentioned,

married Lady Mary Bruce, eldest daughter of Alexander, second Earl of Kincardine.

William and Lady Mary Cochrane had a large family of nine sons and four daughters. Of these William, the eldest, predeceased his father, who was accordingly succeeded in the estate of Ochiltree, on his decease in 1728, by his second son Charles, who, moreover, inherited from his mother the estate of Culross Abbey. He died there, unmarried, in 1752, and was succeeded both in the Ochiltree and Culross estates, first by his brother James, and afterwards by his brother Thomas Cochrane, who in 1758 succeeded to the earldom of Dundonald.

We must now go back for a little to the elder branch of the family, which we have already traced down to the accession of John, fourth Earl of Dundonald, in 1705. He was succeeded in 1720 by his son William as fifth Earl, who died unmarried in 1725, and was succeeded in his turn by his cousin Thomas Cochrane, son of William Cochrane of Kilmaronock, who was second son of William Lord Cochrane, and brother of John, second Earl of Dundonald.

This Thomas Cochrane of Kilmaronock succeeded as sixth Earl of Dundonald, and transmitted the title to his eldest son William, who succeeded as seventh Earl of Dundonald, and was killed at the siege of Louisbourg, in America, in 1758. On this event emerging, the title devolved on his kinsman Thomas Cochrane of Culross, already mentioned, the seventh son of William and Lady Mary Cochrane, and the

grandson of the old Presbyterian leader Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, second son of the first Earl of Dundonald.

Thomas Cochrane of Culross and Ochiltree succeeded his kinsman Earl William as eighth Earl of Dundonald, and died at his seat of La Mancha, in Peeblesshire, in 1778. By his second wife, Miss Jean Stuart of Torrence, Lanarkshire, he was the father of Archibald, the ninth Earl, so celebrated for his scientific attainments, and the father of the still more renowned Lord Cochrane, afterwards tenth Earl of Dundonald.

Earl Archibald was the last of his family who held the Culross estate. Of great scientific abilities, and an active and acute but speculative disposition, he was sadly deficient in prudence, and ruined himself by the multifarious and profitless schemes in which he engaged. One special object that occupied his energies—the manufacture of coal-tar—has immortalised him, and ought fairly to be attributed to him as his own peculiar invention. For this he took out a patent, which might have been the means of making his fortune had it been properly managed, but his want of business capacity made all his scientific genius practically useless. A work for extracting the tar was erected by him at the western extremity of Low Valleyfield, and traces of the gateway and other buildings connected with it are still to be seen. His son, Lord Dundonald, the celebrated naval hero, better known as Lord Cochrane, claims in his Autobiography the merit for his father of having first

discovered the illuminating powers of coal-gas. In the course of his experiments at his factory at Culross, he noticed the inflammable nature of the vapour rising during the distillation of the tar, and he accordingly fitted a gun-barrel to the pipe leading from the condenser. On applying a light to the extremity of this, a blaze of flame more vivid than that evoked by St Serf from the hazel-branch burst forth, and cast an illumination that was visible from the opposite shore at Borrowstounness. Some time afterwards, when Lord Dundonald and his son were travelling to London, they paid a visit to the celebrated James Watt, then engaged in conducting the works for the construction of steam-engines at Soho, near Birmingham. One of his assistants was Mr Murdoch, who afterwards attained a reputation scarcely inferior to that of his master, as the first to make use of coal-gas as an illuminating agent. During the visit, the incident at the tar-work at Culross was frequently discussed, and there can be little doubt that Mr Murdoch derived on this occasion the information which he afterwards turned to practical account.

The mining operations which Lord Dundonald engaged in were very extensive, comprising not only the working of the coal on the Culross estate, but likewise of that on the adjoining lands of Valleyfield and Kincardine. He also obtained a lease of the coal in the burgh territory of Culross, on the easy terms of an annual payment of five pounds, as soon as he should actually commence operations. The

results of his workings are still very manifest in the remains of numerous pit-shafts, now long since closed, but which meet the eye in great frequency all over the property. The "Ding Dang" and "Jenny Paip" pits are still well remembered; the ground around St Mungo's and the Abbey orchard still sounds hollow to the tread, from the numerous underground passages by which it is honeycombed; and many *sits* or depressions have taken place in the surface, both in and around the town of Culross, causing no little alarm. His lordship is, indeed, accused of setting very little store by the rights or convenience of his neighbours; and some curious tales, not redounding much to his credit, are related in connection with this circumstance. Among others of his encroachments, he is reputed to have carried his mining operations beneath the ground of the very church and manse; and Mr Rolland, the clergyman, and his wife, are said to have had their slumbers disturbed by the din of pickaxes in the subterraneous workings beneath the matrimonial couch. The heritors had at last to interfere to interdict Lord Dundonald from undermining the property of the church, and a stoppage was put to the perpetration of any further such pranks. Then another high-handed act is recorded of him, in connection with a row of small houses in the Petty Common, about half-way between St Mungo's and the foot of the Newgate. The tenements with their gardens behind approaching rather unpleasantly near the Abbey orchard, and thus rendering themselves an eyesore

to his lordship, he was very anxious to have them removed, and had tried negotiations with the occupiers for that end, but was encountered by an obstinate refusal to come to terms. Bent on effecting his purpose, he is said, according to an account generally received in this quarter as authentic, to have caused his overseer one Sunday morning to descend the shaft of a pit, which is still pointed out, at a little distance from the houses in question, and to pull out the props by which the roof of the underground workings was supported. According to my informant, some of the luckless inhabitants of the Petty Common cottages had just stepped out to their *yairds* on a lovely Sabbath morning in early summer, to "snuff the caller air" before church-time, and note the progress visible in the leek and onion beds. To their horror they felt the ground giving way beneath their feet, and their consternation was completed by the gradual subsidence of their habitations to the depth of two or three feet, though without any loss of life or bodily injuries. My informant, a venerable old lady, who died about twenty years ago, at an age above ninety, added, further, that this partial destruction had not the effect which Lord Dundonald expected, and the people of the Petty Common, notwithstanding this partial experience of an earthquake, continued to occupy their shattered dwellings. The Culross Marches day approached, and all left their houses to see the show and take part in the festive proceedings. In their absence, Lord Dundonald caused the roofs of their cottages to be covered with

coal-tar and other combustibles, set them on fire, and made a holocaust of the whole row of houses. Such was Mrs S——'s story, and she was a woman of considerable vigour of character, who had lived in Culross all her days. I must, in justice to his lordship, however, remark, that though there is a general consensus as to the verity of the story regarding the subsidence of the houses in consequence of an act of malice prepense, I have not hitherto found any confirmation of the burning alleged as the last act in the drama. Certainly the cottages and their gardens have long since disappeared, and their site been included in the Abbey orchard. Such a gross invasion of the rights of others may almost seem incredible at the present day; but a century ago such seigneurial outrages were not altogether unexampled, and even in England, where perhaps greater jealousy existed than in North Britain in regard of any infringement of the privileges of the subject, there was still enough of private oppression and malversation to afford ground for Godwin's powerful, though possibly rather overdrawn, picture of legal tyranny and perversion of justice in his 'Caleb Williams.'

Archibald, Earl of Dundonald, is described as "a smart man," not exactly in the modern Yankee sense of the term, but as a clever, ready-witted man, of good address and general ability. He is not, however, spoken of as one who had much reverence in his disposition, or regard for the higher sanctions of religion and morality. He seems never to have attended church; and a story is told of some one

calling on him on a Sunday evening, as the likeliest period in which he could be seen, and finding him busy in the manufacture, at a marble table in the Abbey, of potato bannocks—his love of experimenting leading him into all regions of practical science. Owing to the *res angusta domi*, his sons seem to have been allowed to run about rather wild, and a favourite pastime of theirs is said to have been to play at handball against the walls of the church. One curious adventure of the Lord Dundonald of the Autobiography, better known to fame in the earlier part of his life as Lord Cochrane, is preserved traditionally at Culross as illustrating the innate daring character of the future hero of Basque Roads. With his brothers he had been amusing himself in his boyhood in the neighbourhood of an old coal-pit, the mouth of which was still open, but fenced with a wall of several feet in height. Looking over the enclosure and down into the abyss, the boys could discern on its side a bird's nest, which, however, it was quite beyond their unaided capabilities to reach. It was suggested that one of them might be let down with a rope to harry the nest. Lord Cochrane volunteered the perilous office, and accomplished the feat—the rope by which he was suspended being merely a halter taken from an old horse that happened to be tethered in an adjoining field!

The same Lord Cochrane informs us, in the Autobiography already quoted, that Mr Rolland, the then minister of the first charge at Culross, offered his services gratuitously as tutor to the young gen-

tlemen at the Abbey, when, in consequence of their father's pecuniary straits, they ran the risk of going without education altogether. He speaks with great respect of Mr Rolland as "a learned and truly excellent man," but states that, "highly as was the offer appreciated, family pride prevented our reaping from it the advantage contemplated."

By the assistance of their maternal grandmother, Mrs Gilchrist, tutors were at last procured for the young Cochranes. One of these, a French Roman Catholic named M. Durand, occasioned a tremendous scandal in the parish by firing off a gun one Sunday to scare the magpies, which were then very numerous about Culross, and made sad havoc of the cherries in the Abbey garden. The kirk-session, it is said, threatened to make a case of it, and were only induced to desist on the friendly interposition of Lord Dundonald.

The melancholy end became at last inevitable. The Culross estate had, in the end of last century, to be sold on behalf of Lord Dundonald's creditors, and was ultimately disposed of in two halves; one of these going to Sir Robert Preston, who had just succeeded his brother Sir Charles as the proprietor of Valleyfield—and the other to Admiral Lord Keith, who had recently purchased the barony of Tulliallan from Mr Erskine of Cardross. As Sir Robert Preston was first cousin of Archibald, Earl of Dundonald, whose fortunes had thus come to so disastrous a wreck, and has long been himself a household word in Culross, it may not be out of place

that I should now take up the history of his family from the point to which it was last brought down in my narrative.

As already mentioned, Sir George Preston, fourth Baronet of Valleyfield, married Anne, daughter of William and Lady Mary Cochrane, by whom he had five sons and two daughters. All his sons predeceased him except two, Charles and Robert, who succeeded in order to the estate as fifth and sixth Baronets. Sir Charles Preston, who had been a captain in the 26th Regiment, died comparatively a young man and unmarried. His brother Sir Robert, who succeeded him in the end of the last century, had entered the East India Company's service, and been captain of the *Asia*. He accumulated an immense fortune, partly obtained by his own industry as a trader, partly inherited from a Captain Foulis, who made him his heir, and partly brought him by his wife, Miss Brown, the daughter of a wealthy London merchant. He was also indebted for no inconsiderable portion of his riches to his successful speculations in the Funds, in which it was said he was greatly aided by his political connections with William Pitt and his party. George Rose, Pitt's secretary, was also the intimate friend of Sir Robert Preston of Valleyfield. A curious circumstance in reference to their friendship connects him and Culross indirectly with the well-known annual institution of the Ministerial fish-dinner at Greenwich.

Sir Robert was for a period M.P. for Dover, and

both his parliamentary duties and financial transactions led, during his earlier years, to his residing a long time in England. He had a favourite retreat, which he called his "fishing cottage," on the shores of Dagenham Reach, in Essex. Here he used to entertain his friends, and none was more frequent in his visits or more welcome than Mr George (afterwards Sir George) Rose, who on one occasion brought down with him his ministerial patron William Pitt. The Premier was greatly delighted with his entertainment, and readily accepted an invitation at parting to return the following year and enjoy himself in such congenial society. For several years Mr Pitt, accompanied by Rose, made regularly every season a visit to Dagenham Reach. The time occupied in going there was in these days considerable, and it was suggested by Sir Robert, and willingly acceded to by the Minister, that the three friends should in future have their annual dinner nearer London. As the three were all members of the Trinity House, it was resolved to have their "outing" at Greenwich. An addition was now made to their party in the persons of Lord Camden and Mr Long, afterwards Lord Farnborough. Sir Robert Preston continued, as at Dagenham Reach, to act as host; but as other political magnates were successively invited, it was at last suggested by Lord Camden that the tavern bill should no longer be defrayed exclusively by the Baronet. It was arranged, however, that he should still issue the invitations for the dinner, and he moreover insisted on furnishing to it

a buck and champagne as a special contribution. To the end of his life he continued to do so, the time for meeting being usually after Trinity Monday, shortly after the rising of Parliament. Ere many years had elapsed from its first establishment, the gathering had comprised most of the Cabinet ministers, and assumed almost entirely a political complexion, the long continuance in power of the Tory party, with which Sir Robert was associated, having prevented any inconvenient interruption of his relations with the institution. The meeting had now become a stereotyped affair, and, under the appellation of the "fish dinner," has survived to the present day. It may not also be uninteresting to many of my readers to know that a nephew of Sir George Rose, Sir Robert Preston's friend, has in our own day gained considerable reputation under the *nom de plume* of "Arthur Sketchley," and as the editor of the innumerable disquisitions of the garrulous "Mrs Brown."

It only remains to be added, in reference to the above, that Sir Robert Preston took care that a memorial of the *symposia* at Dagenham Reach should be preserved at Culross. At the east end of the burgh, by the sea-shore, opposite the present ruin of Lord Bruce's Hospital, there used to be, in the memory of one or two persons still living, several salt-pans, which were supplied with sea-water from a huge reservoir or *bucket-pat* by means of a pumping apparatus. After purchasing the Culross estate from the creditors of his cousin Lord Dundonald, Sir

Robert set to converting the *bucket-pat* into a large salt-water pond, which might be filled and emptied at flow and ebb tide, whilst on its bank he constructed a small "fishing cottage," after the model of the one at Dagenham Reach in which he had unconsciously originated the institution of the Ministerial Whitebait dinners. I am not aware whether he gave any entertainments here of a similar character, but it was his favourite haunt or lounge of a forenoon, down to a short period previous to his death. Here he held his levees, transacted his business, and listened to any applications or petitions, which, in consequence of his connection with the East India Company and the Trinity House, were presented to him in considerable abundance, with the view of obtaining the benefit of his patronage. Here, too, Captain S——, a veteran naval commander, residing in Low Valleyfield, used to come and read the newspapers to him in his latter days, when his sight began to fail. In return, the Captain had the *entrée* to the Valleyfield hospitalities, and, as I have heard his widow (the same old lady who gave me the account of Lord Dundonald) say, "Mony a gude dinner he got."

Sir Robert was a thorough *gourmand*, and his *gourmandise* does not appear to have been of a very delicate or refined character; it resembled, indeed, more the coarse and barbaric magnificence of Apicius or Lucullus than the elegant sybaritism of Dr Kitchener or Dr Véron. Profusion there was of meat and drink, but there was little variety or ingenuity in

the *cuisine*. His Christmas-pie, which took eight men to carry, and remained during the festive season on his sideboard as a *pièce de résistance*, was the talk of the country-side, and its wonders were magnified by popular report. He himself used to keep turtles in the salt-water pond at the fishing-cottage, and men were regularly employed to go out into the Firth with nets and bring in supplies of fish. A vigorous constitution and unbounded powers of digestion must have been his fortune through life, to have enjoyed its good things so keenly, and at the same time preserved his health unimpaired to the patriarchal age of ninety-five years.

In playing the *grand seigneur* Sir Robert was an adept; and to do him justice, he exhibited all the princeliness and generous liberality which might be supposed to become such a character. He kept open house at Valleyfield, and, like the old country gentleman—

> "Whilst he feasted all the great,
> He ne'er forgot the small."

No countryman or messenger of any kind that happened to come to his house was ever sent empty away; and no broken meats were allowed to reappear at his table, but were distributed in liberal doles to the poor bodies. The buildings, offices, park-gates, walls, &c., on his estate, all attest to this day the magnificent scale on which he acted; and he was also a liberal promoter of objects of public utility. He repaired and remodelled Culross Church, almost entirely at his own expense—though, as we shall

see, he displayed little taste in his renovations; and he also exhibited a sad degree of vandalism in authorising the destruction of a large portion of the ruins of the monastery. In another matter, too, he showed commendable activity and an interest in antiquarian research, when he caused the examination to be made that resulted, as already recorded, in the discovery of the heart of Lord Edward Bruce, the unfortunate duellist. Some further particulars regarding the relic will be found in the following chapter.

One undertaking of Sir Robert's proved rather disastrous as a pecuniary speculation, but has probably tended as much as any other circumstance to immortalise his name, which is not likely to be ever forgotten as long as PRESTON ISLAND, with its picturesque congeries of old buildings, rises as a landmark from the surface of the Firth of Forth. I have already referred to it in the opening chapter as bisecting the chord which joins the two extremities of the arc that constitutes the beautiful Bay of Culross. Previous to Sir Robert's accession to the Valleyfield estate, this islet was nothing more than a plateau formed at the eastern extremity of the Craigmore or great range of rocks that crosses the entrance of Culross Bay, and extends some distance up the Forth in a direction parallel to the shore. The seams of coal which were so extensively developed on the mainland were here cropping out at the surface, and a tempting opportunity seemed to be afforded of both emulating the fame of Sir George Bruce in his celebrated *moat*, and also of realising a

vast profit. Preston Island, with the adjacent rocks, being situated on the foreshore, and within low-water mark, were an appanage, it may be observed, to Sir Robert's paternal estate of Valleyfield. Having conceived the idea of working the coal here, he carried out the project with all the magnificence that was so much his characteristic. A pit was sunk on the plateau, an engine-house with suitable gear and appliances erected, dwellings built for the colliers, and as there was no fresh water on the island, a supply was conveyed from the shore by means of pipes laid beneath the bottom of the sea. A range of salt-pans was also, at a subsequent period, erected; but here we are rather anticipating matters. The mining operations commenced and were carried on for several years with great activity. At last a fearful explosion of fire-damp took place, in which several men lost their lives; and so affected, it is said, was Sir Robert by this tragic occurrence, that it led him to conceive the idea of abandoning the undertaking altogether. It had not indeed been a profitable one for him hitherto; and when he gave it up finally, he found that the speculation had involved him in a loss of at least £30,000. More fortunate, however, than many others who have signalised themselves by their "follies," his means were amply sufficient to leave him still, after so great a loss, in possession of an immense fortune.

After the coal-workings were abandoned on the island, the locality was still utilised for the manufacture of salt, and several long obelisk-like chimneys

were added to the buildings with which the little space had already been crowned. One man, with his family, was tacksman or lessee of the salt-pans on the island, as I can remember, at the distance now of more than forty years; and the habits of this little community were said to partake a good deal of the gipsy fashion in their wild and isolated life. They were regarded as a sort of pariahs by the more civilised inhabitants of the adjoining shore; and I well remember hearing mentioned, as one of the concomitants of their wild existence, what to the Scottish mind has generally been a very dreadful circumstance—the fact that their children could not read. They, however, at last quitted the place, from what cause I know not, and were succeeded by another tacksman, whose life, too, was a curious one. In his young days he is said to have been extremely penurious, and by dint of scraping and saving had amassed the sum of £500, with which he now commenced the trade of salt-making. He might have succeeded sufficiently well in this vocation had he not added to his legitimate occupation the perilous one of an unlicensed distiller of whisky—an adventure for which, indeed, the island, by its situation, afforded tempting facilities. "Very gude drink he made," old Hannah, the saltwife, used to remark. Doubtless many a comfortable cup she had partaken of in her professional visits to the island for the purchase of the commodity she travelled in. "Very gude whisky it was; and they would ne'er hae fund it oot had it no been for the difference in the reek."

This dissimilarity in the smoke arising from the different descriptions of fuel used in the respective manufactures of salt and whisky, had probably attracted the attention of the excise officers; and I have also heard that one or two men who had been employed to convey over in carts from the mainland a clandestine supply of malt, had turned informers, either designedly or in the way of gossip. Be this as it may, the smuggling tacksman got a hint of the descent intended to be made on him by the authorities, and saved himself by a precipitate flight. He disappeared from the neighbourhood for many years; but latterly, after the prosecution against him had become only a remembrance, he returned to the parish of Culross, and died a few years ago in straitened circumstances in Newmills. All the money that he had saved perished in this adventure, and the island has never been inhabited since his departure. It now stands, with its buildings, a lonely though very picturesque landmark, which, I understand, being inserted as such in the Admiralty charts of the Firth of Forth, cannot now be dismantled or removed. To a stranger, indeed, it has all the appearance of an old cathedral or monastery rising from the surface of the water; and the traveller, in approaching Culross, might be almost deluded into the idea that in the old buildings on Preston Island he beholds the ruins of its abbey.

In 1830, Sir Walter Scott paid a visit to Valleyfield and Culross, the only one that he seems ever to have made to this part of the country. He had

been on his annual excursion to Blair-Adam, in Kinross-shire, the seat of his friend the Right Honourable William Adam, Lord Chief Commissioner of the Jury Court. In explanation of a reference made in the following extract from Sir Walter's diary, it may be stated that the vandalism which was so conspicuous a feature in Sir Robert Preston's character had manifested itself most prominently in his disposal of the fine old mansion of Culross Abbey, which had become his property with the rest of the estate. Apparently he had conceived the idea of obliterating, if possible, every monument that told of a more distinguished family in the parish than that of the Prestons. Some one, too, it is said, remarked to him one day that the Abbey was a finer mansion than Valleyfield. His jealousy was roused into action, and he forthwith proceeded to make a ruin of the grand old habitation of the Bruces and Cochranes. The roof was taken off, the window-frames and doors removed, and the whole building gutted and dismantled. The gallery on the first floor was converted into an aviary, and covered with a roof of tiles. A similar spirit of demolition was shown by him in his degradation of the old family-mansion of Blairhall,[1] the estate of which he had purchased from the Ronaldson-Dickson family, who had succeeded in possession the Stewarts, cadets of the Bute family. But in his latter years he resolved to restore Culross Abbey as a dower-house for Lady Preston, in the

[1] He removed the east wing, reducing it to the dimensions of an ordinary house.

probable event, as it was deemed, of her surviving him—an expectation, however, which proved fallacious. The work of reparation had just commenced about the period of Sir Walter Scott's visit to Valleyfield.

"*June* 19 [1830].

"After breakfast to Culross, where the veteran Sir Robert Preston showed us his curiosities. Life has done as much for him as most people. In his ninety-second year he has an ample fortune, a sound understanding, not the least decay of eyes, ears, or taste, is as big as two men, and eats like three. Yet he, too, experiences the *singula prædantur*, and has lost something since I last saw him. If his appearance renders old age tolerable, it does not make it desirable. But I fear, when death comes, we shall be unwilling, for all that, to part with our bundle of sticks. Sir Robert amuses himself with repairing the old House of Culross, built by the Lord Bruce. What it is destined for is not very evident. It is too near his own mansion of Valleyfield to be useful as a residence, if indeed it could be formed into a comfortable modern house. But it is rather like a banqueting-house. Well, he follows his own fancy. We had a sumptuous cold dinner. Sir Adam grieves it was not hot—so little can war and want break a man to circumstances. The beauty of Culross consists in magnificent terraces rising on the sea-beach and commanding the opposite shore of Lothian. The house is repairing in the style of James VI. There are some fine relics of the old monastery, with large Saxon arches. At Anstruther I saw with pleasure the painting by Raeburn of my old friend Adam Rolland, Esq., who was in the external circumstances, but not in frolic or fancy, my prototype for Paul Pleydell."

Sir Walter's powers had by this time begun to fail, and there are one or two inaccuracies and omis-

sions in the above. I have received an account of the visit in question from one of Mr Rolland's sons who accompanied the party to Valleyfield. He informs me that the company from Blair-Adam, including Sir Adam Fergusson, breakfasted at Luscar, near Carnock, the seat of his father, Adam Rolland, Esq. of Gask, who himself was a son of the Rev. Mr Rolland, minister of the first charge of Culross. Mr Adam Rolland was a W.S., and also a colleague of Sir Walter Scott as one of the principal Clerks of Session. "Anstruther" is here clearly a mistake for Luscar, a place to which we have already had occasion to refer as the seat of the Covenanter Stobow captured by Captain Creichton. Mr Rolland says, moreover, that whilst Sir Walter was exceedingly genial and pleasant in his father's house, this pleasant condition was much disturbed by the sulky and dissatisfied manner of Sir Robert Preston, who hated as much a luncheon or cold collation as Sir Adam Fergusson, but apparently had considered it incumbent on him to furnish such a refection to his guests. It may also be mentioned that the 19th of June 1830 was the Saturday before the Culross Sacrament, which is celebrated on the third Sunday of June, and is, or rather used to be, preceded by a religious service on the Saturday afternoons. In consequence of this, when Sir Walter visited the ruins of the monastery, he was unable to see the interior of the church.

As Sir Robert Preston had no children, and only three nieces, who were also childless, it became a

matter of considerable speculation as to how he might ultimately devise the huge fortune and estates that he possessed. His paternal estate of Valleyfield, indeed, was guarded by a strict entail; but he regarded with hostile feelings the family of Mr Clarke of Comrie, in whom this inheritance was vested as descendants of his sister, Mrs Mary Preston or Wellwood, wife of Robert Wellwood of Garvock. Lord Dundonald, the unfortunate projector, who died at Paris in 1831, was Sir Robert's first cousin; and though there had been various causes of dissension between the families, it is nevertheless averred that Sir Robert intended to make the celebrated Lord Cochrane, Earl Archibald's eldest son, his heir. Unfortunately for the latter, he gave, it is said, mortal offence to the testy old Baronet by sending an excuse for not coming down from England to the funeral of Lady Preston. Setting aside then all his relatives, with the exception of the three nieces above referred to, he devised the whole of the estates belonging exclusively to himself, to be enjoyed first successively by his nieces, and then, on the death of the last survivor, to vest in the Elgin family, by whom they have been enjoyed since 1864. In terms of Sir Robert's bequest, and also in accordance with a family compact, this large inheritance is now the property of the Hon. Robert Preston Bruce, M.P. for Fifeshire, and immediate younger brother of the present Earl of Elgin. As regards the estate of Valleyfield proper, this now belongs to R. Clarke Campbell Preston, Esq., son of the Rev. W.

Clarke Preston, who succeeded to the estate under the original entail, on the death in 1864 of Lady Hay, last surviving niece of Sir Robert Preston. The baronetcy, on the death of the latter in 1834, had become extinct as regarded the male descendants of Sir George Preston, the first Baronet by the deed of creation of Charles I. in 1637. It then passed, in terms of the patent, to the representative of Robert Preston, Lord of Session, younger brother of Sir George, the first Baronet, and ancestor of the Prestons of Gorton. The title was accordingly now taken up by Mr Preston of Lutton, in the county of Lincolnshire, as seventh Baronet of Valleyfield. He was succeeded by his son Sir Robert, and he again by his brother Sir Henry Preston.

Some notice is due to the first of Sir Robert Preston's nieces, who succeeded him both in the ancestral estate of Valleyfield and as liferentrix of his other estates. This was Miss Anne Campbell Preston, daughter of Colonel Patrick Preston, Sir Robert's eldest brother, and heiress through her mother of the estate of Fernton or Ferntower, in the neighbourhood of Crieff. She married, in 1809, Sir David Baird, the hero of Seringapatam, who afterwards lost his arm by a cannon-ball at Corunna. He employed himself, while at Alexandria in the beginning of the century, in the attempt to place Cleopatra's Needle on board ship and transport it to England—a project which failed at the time, but has in our own time been attended with complete success. Lady Baird was a woman of considerable

vigour and originality of character. For her husband, Sir David, who died in 1829, Lady Baird cherished an immense reverence, and erected a granite obelisk to his memory on an eminence on her estate, at a cost of £15,000. She also paid 1500 guineas to Sir David Wilkie for his picture of Sir David Baird finding Tippoo Saib's body. Unfortunately for herself, she was animated by a strong litigious spirit, which was constantly embroiling her in lawsuits, the principal objects of her animosity being her uncle's trustees. A great part of her substance was spent in this unprofitable manner; and though doubtless she possessed many good qualities, her memory is preserved about Culross as of one who, in the old Scottish phrase, was a "dour and stour wife." She was succeeded first by her sister Miss Preston, and afterwards by her cousin Lady Hay, widow of Sir John Hay of King's Meadows, Peeblesshire. On the demise of the latter, as already mentioned, in 1864, the Valleyfield estate went to the Rev. W. Clarke Preston—and the other property of Sir Robert, including Blairhall and the Culross estate, to the Elgin family.

It may be remarked here that the greater part of the parish of Culross is now possessed by the descendants of the great Sir George Bruce. The only exceptions are the estate of Blair Castle, recently purchased by C. H. Miller, Esq., from the last representative of the Dundases of Blair; that of Comrie, belonging to A. V. Smith Sligo, Esq. of Inzievar, and formerly belonging to Mr Clarke, grandfather of Mr

R. Clarke Campbell Preston; a portion of the estate of Tulliallan, belonging to Lady W. G. Osborne Elphinstone; the small estate of Dunimarle or Castlehill, formerly belonging to the ancient family of Blaw; and one or two small properties immediately adjoining the town of Culross. The heritors of the parish who are thus descended are the Hon. R. P. Bruce, descended lineally from Robert Bruce of Broomhall, Sir George's younger son; John J. Dalgleish, Esq. of West Grange and Balgownie, whose maternal grandmother, Mrs Johnston of Sands, was younger daughter of Captain Wellwood of Garvock, whose mother was a sister of Sir Robert Preston, and granddaughter through her mother—Lady Mary Cochrane—of Alexander, second Earl of Kincardine; Laurence Johnston, Esq. of Sands, who stands to Sir George Bruce in the same degree of relationship as Mr Dalgleish; and R. Clarke Campbell Preston, Esq. of Valleyfield, who also stands in the same degree through his paternal grandmother, Mrs Clarke of Comrie, elder daughter of Captain Wellwood and sister of Mrs Johnston.

The baronies of Tulliallan and Kincardine, which were acquired by the Black Colonel in the beginning of the last century, were inherited by his only surviving son, John Erskine of Carnock, the celebrated Scottish jurist. By his first marriage with Miss Melvill of Bargawie, John Erskine was the father of Dr Erskine, the clergyman, and to him he bequeathed the original estates of the family, with the exception of those in the parish of Tulliallan.

These last, with the estate of Cardross in Menteith, which he had purchased himself at a judicial sale, he left to James Erskine, the eldest son of his second marriage with Miss Stirling of Keir. James Erskine of Cardross married Lady Christian Bruce, second daughter of William, eighth Earl of Kincardine, and was the father of David Erskine, who married the daughter of John, eleventh Lord Elphinstone. A younger brother of Lord Elphinstone, the Hon. George Keith Elphinstone, afterwards raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Keith, purchased the estate of Tulliallan from David Erskine of Cardross.

Lord Keith had distinguished himself greatly as a naval commander, and attained the rank of admiral. By his mother, Lady Clementina Fleming or Elphinstone, daughter of John, sixth Earl of Wigton, he was nearly related to the celebrated brothers Keith—the Earl Marischal and Marshal Keith — his maternal grandmother, Lady Mary Keith, Countess of Wigton, being the sister of these renowned brothers. This last-named lady was heir of line to the Earl Marischal, whose title had been forfeited for his accession to the rebellion of 1715; but the claim to the forfeited honour passed to Alexander Keith of Ravelston, near Edinburgh, as nearest male representative, and descended from William, third Earl Marischal, who died about 1530. The title has never, however, been revived or advanced since the death of George, tenth Earl Marischal, at Potsdam, in Prussia, in 1778, twenty years after that of his brother, Marshal Keith, at the battle of Hochkirchen.

Lord Keith married, first, Miss Mercer of Aldie, and had by her one daughter, the Hon. Margaret Mercer Elphinstone, who succeeded him in the peerage as Baroness or Lady Keith. She married a French nobleman, Auguste Charles Joseph, Comte de Flahault de la Billardrie, and had by him four daughters, the eldest of whom married Lord Shelburne, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne. The Keith peerage is now extinct, being limited to the first Baron and the heirs-male of his body, whom failing to his daughter Margaret and the heirs-*male* of her body. Lady Keith died in 1867.

By his second wife, Hesther Maria, Dr Johnson's "Queenie," and the eldest daughter of the philosopher's great friends Mr and Mrs Thrale of Streatham, Lord Keith had only one daughter, the Hon. Georgiana Augusta Henrietta, who married, first, the Hon. Augustus John Villiers, son of the Earl of Jersey; and secondly, Lord William Godolphin Osborne, brother of the eighth and uncle of the present Duke of Leeds. She now possesses, under the title of Lady W. G. Osborne Elphinstone, the estate of Tulliallan, Lord Keith having devised it to his two daughters successively, and afterwards to the representative of his elder daughter. The property will thus ultimately vest in the Lansdowne family.

The history of the two parishes may now be said to have been brought down from the earliest times to the present day. It is now my province to describe their existing monuments, so as to illustrate and complete that history.

CHAPTER XXIV.

MONUMENTS OF CULROSS AND TULLIALLAN—THE MONASTERY AND ITS SURROUNDINGS.

IN the following chapter I shall take occasion to describe the monuments of bygone days still existing in Culross and Tulliallan, so as to complete the references which have already been made to them in the course of the previous history. It has seemed better to me to adopt this course than to encumber the narrative with a prolixity of descriptive details, and I think that it will be the most agreeable and convenient for my readers.

The first of these remains of antiquity that presents itself is naturally the old Monastery, with its Abbey Church, which, standing on the crest of the hill overlooking the town of Culross, is both the oldest and most conspicuous object by which the place is characterised. The spot, as already mentioned, is probably the same as that originally occupied by the establishment of the primitive Christian missionary, St Serf, though not a trace now remains of any building that formerly existed here, and no

tradition, however faint, is preserved regarding the site.

The Monastery or Abbey of Culross must have been in its entirety a very large and splendid building, though probably it did not transcend or even equal in these respects several other Scottish religious houses, the ruins of which still remain. It was founded, as already stated, by Malcolm, Earl of Fife, in 1217, and nothing whatever is known either as to its progress or completion. Our information in regard to the buildings is derived entirely from their present condition, and the very imperfect accounts which have come down to us from the period of the Reformation.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, immediately preceding the suppression of the religious houses, Culross Abbey must, like other conventual establishments, have consisted of a congeries of buildings — square, massive, and imposing — enclosing a yard or cloister court, with the church forming one side of the square, whilst the other three were devoted chiefly to the secular requirements of the monks. Following the general rule, the Monastery Church of Culross occupied the north side of the square, whilst it is probable the chapter-house or council-chamber of the Abbey filled the north-east corner, and the refectory or great dining-hall extended along the south side in a parallel direction with the church.

As at present standing, the buildings consist of the Monastery or Abbey Church, of which now only remain the choir and central tower, with some frag-

ments of aisles or chapels. The choir serves as the present parish church, and is entered through the tower, from which formerly the nave extended in a westerly direction as far as the present churchyard gate. The nave has completely disappeared, with the exception of the lower part of the south wall, which forms the south side of the churchyard, and separates it from the old cloister court, now used as the upper manse-garden. A doorway near the south-west extremity of this wall had evidently given access to the nave from the cloister court, and at the very end is a small fragment which marks the corner and formed a part of the west front of the church. From this point the western range of the conventual buildings extended southwards to a considerable distance down the hill—as far at least, it would seem, as the southern boundary of the lower manse-garden. They are now restricted to the present manse, which, originally constructed out of the old convent buildings, abuts on the south-west extremity of the churchyard, and, with its offices, adjoins the only part of the monastic ruins that still preserves the appearance of their original condition. These consist of a splendid vaulted chamber, which, with its imposing groined roof and arches, may possibly have been the entrance or great hall of the monastery. Behind it, and perhaps originally forming a part of it, is a vaulted passage of a similar description, which leads through a beautiful Norman doorway into the cloister court. At the entrance of the hall is a staircase leading to an upper storey,

which now presents nothing but a bare flat roof, unprotected by any parapet, but which had doubtless anciently contained the cells or dormitories of the monks. The southern end of the great chamber or hall has been completely demolished, and, standing on an elevated position, it takes the aspect, to a spectator ascending the hill, of a vast yawning cavern, terminating in front in a precipice. Beneath it, and stretching to an unknown distance, are a series of vaults, which were formerly very extensive, but are now in great measure demolished, and the remaining portion choked up with rubbish. Legendary lore has not failed to include the vaults of Culross Monastery within its domains, and the usual tale is recorded of mysterious subterranean passages and communications. In one of these a man is said to be seated on a golden chair, and has doubtless prizes of regal magnificence to present to the courageous adventurer who may succeed in penetrating to his secret retreat. The story is also told of a blind piper and his dog who entered the vaults at the head of the Newgate, and was heard playing his pipes on his subterraneous march as far as the West Kirk, three-quarters of a mile distant. But the gnomes or subterranean demons got hold of him, and he never again emerged to the upper air. His dog managed to effect his escape, but the faithful animal of course could tell no tales.

The southern extremity of the monastery has evidently thus been truncated for the purpose of constructing the present bend at the top of the New-

gate, which here diverges from a north to a westerly direction. Formerly the road used to continue right up the hill, and passed between the east end of the church and the present mansion of Culross Abbey.

The monastery, as already stated, extended a considerable way down the hill. Just at the point reached by the presently existing ruins, a line of buildings forming the south side of the cloister court, and supported on underlying vaults or arches, extended from west to east. These have almost entirely disappeared, and not a trace remains of the refectory, or great dining-hall, which doubtless formerly existed here, and, like the Frater hall in Dunfermline, commanded, from its elevated-terrace position, a magnificent view. Two fine arched windows, which may have formed the west end of the hall, with the supporting wall, remained till within the last sixty years at the west extremity of the Abbey garden at the top of the Newgate, and were then removed by Sir Robert Preston, in accordance with his usual spirit of vandalism. So strong and compact was the masonry, that it resisted all the ordinary appliances of pickaxes and other tools, and only yielded at last to the agency of gunpowder.

The buildings of the monastery, including the refectory on the south side of the cloister court, as also the greater portion of those on the east side, seem to have been removed at a very early period; and as tradition records that the mansion immediately adjoining, now known as Culross Abbey, was

erected from the materials of the convent, it is extremely probable that the portion in question was thus utilised. And it is very likely that the demolition was still further completed when the Newgate itself was formed in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The old grammar-school which adjoined the monastery, if indeed it did not actually form a part of the building, may then have been removed with the remaining ruins, and the new road carried on in a north-easterly direction through the north-west angle of the Abbey garden, and between the mansion of the Abbey and the eastern extremity of the church.

Till at least the end of the seventeenth century, and probably for a considerable time afterwards, a large portion of the monastery buildings remained in continuation of the ruins still existing, and extended southwards for a considerable distance down the hill, presenting a very imposing castellated appearance. They are shown in an engraving contained in the well-known collection of views published by Slezer in 1693 in his 'Theatrum Scotiæ.' Slezer was a Dutch officer in the service of King William, and a captain of artillery. He was employed by Government to make drawings and surveys of the fortresses, military stations, and other places in Scotland, and his work is both extremely valuable and interesting in itself, and about the earliest collection of the kind that was formed. It contains certainly the earliest representation that we possess of Culross. I shall have occasion again to

CULROSS from the Water, as it appeared in 1693.
—From Slezer's Theatrum Scotiæ.

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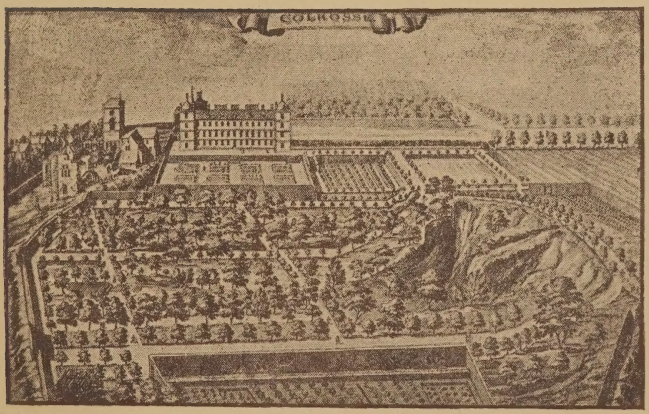

The Mansion and Gardens of CULROSS ABBEY, with Church and Ruins of Monastery, as they appeared in 1693.
—From Slezer's Theatrum Scotiæ.

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refer to it when I come to speak of the mansion of Culross Abbey.

The date at which this great mass of buildings, including the original south front of the monastery, was removed, cannot now be ascertained, but it doubtless took place when the present bend at the top of the Newgate was constructed, connecting that thoroughfare with the continuation of the main street leading northward up the hill from Culross. This bend or turn passes right through, from east to west, the site of the pile of buildings shown in Slezer's view. The principal object in this demolition and diversion was of course the enlargement of the Abbey garden, and securing the privacy of the mansion by shutting up the public road, which passed the latter in such inconvenient proximity. But lest I should be doing an injustice to the proprietors of the Abbey in thus ascribing to them exclusively the destruction of such extensive remains of antiquity, it is only fair to state that the monastery ruins, like so many others both in Scotland and elsewhere, seem to have been regarded as a general quarry, which might be legitimately used whenever opportunity offered or occasion required. Many walls, dikes, and buildings about Culross bear evidence, in the fine-hewn stones which they display, of the spoliation of the old monastery to supply these materials.

The buildings of the monastery must both have covered the lower manse-garden, and likewise descended beyond it into the garden of the Park, belong-

ing to Dr R. H. Davidson. These gardens are now separated by a vennel or narrow passage connecting the Newgate with the causeway leading north from Culross. The previous boundary, however, was a very old wall, which seems to have formed part of the monastery buildings. It was taken down in 1833, and in its demolition was laid open what seemed to be the remains of a gateway and a flight of steps. There was also the fragment of a pillar found there, said to have been of beautiful construction; but though some urgent remonstrances were made on behalf of its preservation, it was ruthlessly removed. More than twenty years afterwards a number of large stones, fully six feet broad, were dug out of the original foundations and employed in heightening the walls which enclose the Park garden.

The Monastery or Abbey Church, at least the tower and nave, belongs to the same period as the convent—that is to say, the beginning of the thirteenth century. The tower is a very marked specimen of Norman architecture, having two fine doorways of that style; one giving access to the porch, which forms its basement storey—and the other directly opposite to it, leading from the porch to the choir, which, since the Reformation, has been used as the parish church. Previous to that event the parish church was that now known as the West Kirk, about half a mile to the west, on the old road leading from Culross through the moor to Kincardine. It has already been and will shortly again be referred to.

The nave of the Abbey Church has now completely disappeared, with the exception of the south wall, which extends westward from the tower to the churchyard gate, and now forms the north boundary-wall of the upper manse-garden or old cloister court. Till the middle of the last century it still presented on its summit a row of Norman windows, which are exhibited in Slezer's view of the church and monastery ruins. They were removed, it is said, by Dr Erskine during his incumbency as minister of the first charge, and their materials used for constructing a dike on the south side of the Barcrook Park, where the road to the West Kirk diverges. The jamb of one of the windows fixed to the south-west corner of the tower still remains.

The lower storey of the tower, which serves as a porch to the present church, is, on three sides at least, and possibly also at one time on four, pierced with arches. On the west is the fine outer doorway opening into the porch, and flanked by two pointed openings now closed up. Adjoining the arch on the south side of the door is an ancient *piscina* or recess in connection with an altar, where the chalice was washed, and its rinsings emptied through a conduit in the stonework. On the north side of the porch is an arched opening, now filled in with glass and serving as a window, but which formerly opened into an aisle or chapel on the north side of the tower, which had been lighted on the west by a large window, of which part of the arch still exists. At the same point are still to be seen the remains of an

arch which had contained the window at the north-east corner of the nave. The place where the roof of the latter had rested on the tower is still distinctly visible; and a little below, in the south corner, is seen a closed-up doorway, which had probably served as a communication between the upper part of the nave and the choir by a passage or ledge in the south wall of the porch. To the north of this opening, and right over the outer door of the tower, is a semicircular opening, likewise closed up, which it is surmised may, in the days when the church was entire and the nave served as the place of assembly for the laity, have contained the rood or cross with its attendant images.

The porch or lower storey of the tower ("between the doors," as it is expressed in the session-book) was assigned by the ecclesiastical authorities in the seventeenth century as the burial-place of the Prestons of Valleyfield. It has long been disused as such, and no monuments or epitaphs of any kind are to be seen, though there can be no doubt of some members of the family having been here interred.

The roof of the porch on which the first floor of the tower rests is a fine groined vault, with an opening in the centre. A staircase attached to the south wall leads to the gallery of the church. On the inner west wall above the outer doorway is sculptured a winged figure resembling an angel, and bearing a shield. On one side is the letter A, and on the other what seems to be the letter M, in the Old English character. They probably stand for *Ave*

Maria, the Abbey Church of Culross having been dedicated to St Serf and the Virgin.

The fact of the tower of Culross church rising direct from the ground, and not springing at a considerable elevation from the summit of lofty supporting arches, is said to be unique, or at least rarely paralleled in other central towers.[1] It consists of three storeys, each of which is very lofty. The basement has already been described. Immediately above it is a vast void apartment, in which it would appear that those accused of witchcraft were formerly detained. It must have been a weird-like dreary abode indeed for the poor creatures. Above this again is the clock-room and belfry, and over all, the roof with its bartizan. Access to all these stages is gained by a narrow spiral staircase on the north side of the tower, opening from the churchyard. From the bartizan a magnificent prospect is commanded, taking in the basin of the Forth from Ben Lomond to the Bass, and extending over nearly thirteen counties. Culross church tower, with its pinnacles, is indeed a landmark for the country round, being visible from a great distance, and forming a most picturesque object as it rises amid woods on the crest of the hill. This very picturesqueness, however, is not altogether a matter for unqualified approbation, as, to produce this effect, the old Nor-

[1] It must always be remembered that Culross tower is really a *central* tower, between the choir and the nave, the latter having now disappeared. The church towers which, like it, rise direct from the ground, are almost invariably situated at the western extremity of the nave.

man character of the tower was sacrificed, and the building, as far as its summit is concerned, converted into a structure of the perpendicular order. Previous to 1824 it was surmounted by a curious ark-like roof not unfrequent in old church towers, and popularly known as the "kae-house," from its being the favourite haunt of the "kaes" or jackdaws. This was surrounded by a walk or ledge, which was unprotected by any parapet; and to run round the kae-house was a favourite deed of daring on the part of the Culross boys. It is said that Lady Hay, the last surviving niece of Sir Robert Preston, had contemplated the restoration of this quaint structure, as well as the completion of the quadrangle of the mansion of Culross Abbey, according to the plan supposed to have been originally contemplated by the first Lord Kinloss.

There are two bells in the church tower of Culross —a larger and a smaller. The material of the former is very ancient; and as it had become worn out in 1659, it was sent to Rotterdam that year and recast. The latter was put up in 1685.

The old choir of the Abbey Church, now fitted up as the parochial place of worship, has been so much metamorphosed in the course of the alterations which at different times it has undergone, that it is difficult now to understand the original condition of the building. Entering it at present by the inner doorway of the tower, we find ourselves in a very neat and comfortable-looking church, with galleries at the east and west ends, and a north and south

transept, which as nearly as possible bisect the north and south walls of the edifice. Two very fine Gothic arches, with corresponding pillars, form the entrances respectively of the north and south transepts, and are almost the only objects of antiquity that meet the eye in the interior of the church. There is, indeed, a fine east window of an early English or semi-Norman character; but this is almost entirely blocked up by the gallery and adjoining staircase. The pulpit is placed within the arch at the entrance of the north transept, whilst facing it is a gallery that spans the south transept and its corresponding arch.

Both of these transepts probably existed in ancient times as appendages to the choir; but it would seem that about 1640 the north transept had either disappeared or become a ruin, when it was reconstructed by the younger George Bruce of Carnock, as detailed in the session-books, for the use of the workmen employed at his saltworks and collieries. It continued to be occupied by the same class of worshippers down to the beginning of the present century, when a general collapse took place in the mining operations about Culross on the failure of Lord Dundonald. Situated behind the pulpit, it does not hold indeed a very desirable position; and though it contains two ranges of pews, these are scarcely now ever occupied.

The last remodelling of the church took place about 1824, when the metamorphosis of the upper part of the tower was effected, as already stated.

Previous to that its interior has been described to me as an "awfu'-looking kirk." It must really have been so, with its uncouth and unsymmetrical arrangement of seats, two tiers of galleries or *lafts* piled above each other, dirt and cobwebs in good store, and an open ceilingless roof, in which pigeons roosted, and made their presence not only conspicuous, but felt by the worshippers, some of whom we find on one occasion presenting a petition to the kirk-session for liberty to erect a canopy of protection. A great improvement was doubtless then effected, though it is just to be wished that it had been carried out with a little more taste and a little less destructiveness.

It appears from the session records that the term "choir" or "quiere" was, down at least to the earlier half of the last century, given to the portion of the church extending from the north and south transepts to the east wall. It seems to have been separated from the rest of the church by a wooden partition or screen, which very probably had existed in the old Roman Catholic times, when the choir, as the place where the musical part of the service was conducted, was generally boarded off and enclosed for the exclusive accommodation of the officiating monks and choristers. As commonly understood, the choir denotes the whole eastern portion of a church extending eastwards from the central tower or transept, just as the nave designates the whole western division stretching from that point to the west

entrance. But in Culross, if we are to be guided by traditionary nomenclature, the term had been restricted to the eastern extremity of the choir,—to what, in short, in ordinary Episcopal churches, is known as the chancel, and is railed off by a screen and gates. Possibly, indeed, the mere general recollection of the term *choir* may have led to this restriction in its application.

It is not improbable that the south transept of the choir communicated directly in ancient times with the chapter-house of the monastery, which may have immediately adjoined, forming thus the north-east corner of the cloister court. In support of this evidence, I may state that the same veteran who gave me the account of the appearance of the church previous to its last remodelling, informed me that there used to be near the extremity of this transept a massive pillar, which may have been the centre column that we sometimes find supporting the roof of the chapter-house.

At the end of this transept or southern extremity of the church, on the outside, is a fine pointed arch, entire, and the fragment of another, which had anciently formed part of the series that had bordered the eastern side of the cloister court. These are, strictly speaking, the only special remains that now exist as denoting this enclosure,—though, from its position, with the monastery ruins on the opposite side, and the fine Norman doorway entering from them to the upper manse-garden, there can be no

doubt whatever of the latter and the cloister court of the convent being identical.

The exterior of the church now requires our attention. Beginning on the north side of the tower, where, as already mentioned, there seems to have been an aisle or chapel, we pass along the outer wall of the church till we reach the aisle or north transept of the choir erected by the younger George Bruce. There is nothing in the external aspect of the church here calling for special remark, as the original windows or arches of the choir have been built up, though the Bruce aisle has rather a handsome one at its north extremity. Proceeding still farther east we come to a vault attached to the north wall of the church, and kept carefully locked. It is the family vault of the Bruce family, including the great Sir George and his descendants, the Earls of Kincardine. Latterly it was converted into his own mausoleum by Sir Robert Preston on becoming proprietor of the Culross estate; and here both he and his wife, Lady Preston, repose. Against the east wall, just opposite the door, is a very fine monument, in alabaster, to the memory of Sir George Bruce. The knight and captain of the industry of old Culross is represented in a reclining position, while in front of him are kneeling figures, also in alabaster, of his children. The diminutive scale on which the latter are represented has procured for the group the popular appellation of "the babies." The monument itself, which reaches nearly to the summit of the vault, is a close imitation of

the monument of Edward Lord Kinloss, Sir George's elder brother, erected in the Rolls Chapel, Chancery Lane, London.

On the south wall of this vault is perhaps the most interesting memorial connected with Culross. A brass plate fixed in the wall above a projection resembling an altar has the following inscription :—

"FUIMUS.[1]

"Near this spot is deposited the heart of Edward Lord Bruce of Kinloss, who was slain in a bloody duel, fought in 1613 with Sir Edward Sackville, afterwards Earl of Dorset, near Bergen-op-Zoom in Holland, to which country the combatants repaired, the one from England, the other from Paris, for the determined purpose of deciding their quarrel. The body of Lord Bruce was interred in the great church of Bergen-op-Zoom, where, among the ruins caused by the siege in 1747, are still to be seen the remains of a monument erected to his memory. A tradition, however, existing that his heart had been sent over to his native land, and was buried near that place, a search was made by Sir Robert Preston of Valleyfield in the year 1808, when it was found embalmed in a silver case of foreign workmanship, secured between two flat and excavated stones clasped with iron, and was again carefully replaced and securely deposited in the spot where it was discovered.

"For the particulars of the challenge and fatal duel, in which the Lord Bruce was killed on the spot, disdaining to accept his life from his antagonist, who was also dangerously wounded, see Lord Clarendon's 'History of the Rebellion,' B. i., and the narrative published in Nos. 129 and 133 of the 'Guardian.'"

The circumstances attending the duel have already

[1] The motto of the Bruces.

been detailed. An account of the discovery of the heart is contained in two communications by Mr Begbie, Sir Robert's factor, made respectively in 1808 and 1815, to the Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh. Previous to being redeposited with great ceremony in its original resting-place, the silver box containing it was exhibited to the public in a room of Culross Abbey.

Quitting the Bruce aisle, we find immediately to the east of it, behind the north wall of the church, the ruins of what used to be denominated the Old or Little Aisle. Nothing remains of it now but a very fine fragment of a window of the decorated order, and belonging apparently to a later period than any other part of the ancient architecture of the church. It is said traditionally to have been the burial-place of the Argyll family, who acted as hereditary bailies of the Abbey in Roman Catholic times, and occupied the Castle of Gloom, afterwards Castle Campbell, at Dollar. Several bodies enclosed in leathern shrouds were a good many years ago dug up here, and are considered to have been those of members of the house of Argyll.

There is little else in the exterior of the church deserving of notice, unless it be the great east window, which in the interior is almost wholly shut out from view by the galleries. It is of considerable size, and, with its mullions in the Early English style, and semicircular Norman arch, is the only window in the church which has been preserved in its original form. The others are all small, and of

modern construction, with the exception of that in the north transept behind the pulpit, which, however, dates only from the middle of the seventeenth century.

Whilst the Culdees or early Scottish clergy generally planted their establishments in bleak and desolate situations, exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, and without any attractiveness or amenity in their surroundings, the monks and canons-regular of a later date showed great discrimination in the sites which they fixed upon, and improved, moreover, the natural advantages of the locality by their ingenious and artistic industry. Culross bears striking evidence of their judgment and good taste in these respects. Though the braes which here border the shore of the Forth may in the days of St Serf have presented, as the old legends inform us, but a desolate wilderness of tangled scrub, they have a fine southern exposure, and the monks of medieval times perceived well to what account they might be turned in laying out their gardens. The "convent yard," as it is termed in old title-deeds and legal documents, forms still, in part at least, the present Abbey orchard, which occupies a considerable space on the slope of the hill in front of the mansion of Culross Abbey. It is not unlikely that since the erection of the latter it has been somewhat extended towards the east, whilst it may have undergone a slight curtailment on the west side.

It is well known that ancient monastic buildings

had generally around them an enclosure, more or less extensive, which contained, besides the gardens and pleasure-grounds, a small extent of pasture-land, and also various domestic offices — all being surrounded with a protecting wall. It is not possible to determine now the limits of the wall of defence which thus enclosed the τέμενος or sacred territory of Culross; but there can be little doubt of the north lodge or portal having been at the spot now known as the Chapel Barn, close to the west Abbey Lodge, and opposite to the entrance of the road leading to the West Kirk. There is here to be seen an ancient wall of great thickness, having its inner side turned to the road, and pierced by a doorway and a small window or *bole*. Fixed in the upper part of the wall is the spring or foundation-stone of an arch. The locality has long been known as the Chapel Barn; and what is now the Abbey Lodge, on the other side of the wall, was, in the memory of persons still living, a building—not, however, of great antiquity—that was actually used as a barn. In ancient Scottish Acts of Parliament and other old documents relating to Culross, the place is spoken of as the Bar-chapel, or the chapel of Bar—whether from its proximity to the rising ground immediately above, called Barhill, or from its being the port or bar of the monastery territory, I am really unable to determine. There had doubtless, however, been a chapel here, which it is extremely probable was connected, as often happened in such cases, with a gateway and porter's lodge. A wall seems to have

been continued eastwards from this point for about two hundred yards, and thence to have been carried in a southern direction till it reached the lower extremity of the churchyard in the space between the present Abbey and the church. Traces of ancient foundations, as well of walls as of what may have been circular flanking towers, have been discovered along all these lines. How much farther south the wall extended we cannot tell, any more than we can lay down with certainty the line of the western boundary of the monastery territory. It may be mentioned here, that according to the account of the Scotch antiquary Captain Grose, the house of the Abbot of Culross was a detached building, situated a little to the west of the present ruins, and was existing in the memory of persons living at the close of the last century. Nothing is now known regarding it. The present manse abuts on the south-west extremity of the churchyard, just where the west front of the Abbey Church used to be when the nave was in existence. It is extremely likely that its original walls, which are very thick, were those of the old monastery; but extensive alterations and additions have been made at different times. It bears the date of 1637, with the initials "J. D.,"—doubtless those of Mr John Duncan, who was then minister of the parish. Below these is a second date—1752—which marks the period of some alteration. The west wing is entirely modern, and was added in 1824, when the church was remodelled.

The "monks of old" were not only skilful archi-

tects and horticulturists, but were also noted for their caligraphic abilities, which they displayed in the transcription of missals, religious manuals, and other books connected with the service of the Church. In this, indeed, a great part of their time was employed, and a particular chamber in the monastery, called the *scriptorium*, was set apart for this kind of work. We have authentic evidence, not only of the monks of Culross having been engaged in this way, but likewise of their enjoying a great reputation over Scotland for their caligraphic skill. In the preface to the 'Inventories of Mary Queen of Scots,' Dr Robertson, the editor, remarks:—

"It is impossible not to regret the service-books of the Chapel Royal destroyed by the Regent. We may reasonably grieve for them as fine examples of the Scottish art of that age—interesting proofs of the skill and taste of the monks of Culross and the canons of St Andrews. Payments were made from the Treasury of £14, 8s. to the bedell of St Andrews for a breviary to King James IV. in 1502-4; of £14 to the monks of Culross for books to the Franciscans of Stirling in 1502-4; and of £24 to 'Dene Mychaell Donaldsone, monk of Culross, for ane grete antiphonall buke' for the Chapel Royal in 1538-9. In recording that Abbot Thomas, who died in 1535, gave a missal and a gradual to his monastery of Kinloss, his biographer is careful to add that both were written at Culross (*Ferrerii Historia Abbatium de Kynlos*). A psalter, it would seem, of the fifteenth century, now in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, is inscribed ME FIERI FECIT RICARDUS MERCHEL QUONDAM ABBAS DE CULENROS."

A more interesting instance still of the caligraphic skill of the Culross monks is furnished in a beauti-

fully written miniature Bible now preserved in the library of Traquair House, near Innerleithen. It bears the inscription "Liber sancte Marie de Culros in Scocia prope monasterium de Dunfermline." And in concluding this subject, I may quote the following statement from the Rev. W. Stephen's MSS. lectures on Culross, already referred to :—

"I have only another instance to add of the existence in the present day of beautiful specimens of penmanship by our old monks. Mr William Macdonald, late of Low Valleyfield, an eminent *virtuoso*, told me that in the spring of 1869 he bought at the sale of the library of the late Mr Johnston, Curator of the National Gallery of Scotland, an illuminated Roman Catholic missal, written by the monks of Culross, without date—a beautiful book—at the price of seven guineas; but having been offered £11, 7s. for it by M. Fourbé, who was French tutor to the Prince of Wales during his residence at Edinburgh University, he parted with it to him for that sum."

The monks of Culross belonged to the order of Cistercians or White Friars (*Monachi Albi*). The Cistercians were first established as a religious order in the year 1098, by Robert, abbot of Molesme, in the diocese of Langres in France. The name is derived from their chief house, Cistertium or Citeaux, in Burgundy; and they were also called Bernardines, on account of St Bernard having, fifteen years after the foundation of the monastery of Citeaux, betaken himself thither with thirty of his companions. Here he conducted himself with such reputation that he was elected abbot of Clairvaux, from which he gener-

ally takes his designation. He founded no fewer than 160 monasteries of the Cistercian order; and from his activity in thus extending its influence, its monks were frequently called, after him, Bernardines. The dress of the Cistercians was white, with the exception of a black cowl and scapular; whereas that of the Benedictines was entirely black. They owned thirteen monasteries in Scotland.

How the monks of Culross conducted themselves, or what manner of life they led, we have scarcely a shred of information. One specialty they seem to have been distinguished by — their skill in penmanship, and the execution of illuminated manuscripts. Another, of a different character, may with some likelihood be credited to them—the art of representing and performing in mystery and miracle plays. It is well known that in the middle ages the clergy were not only the mainstay and supporters of the drama, but likewise acted as the performers in those strange exhibitions of Scriptural narrative and ecclesiastical legend with which they regaled the populace at set times as a sort of actual presentation of the doctrines and morals which they preached to them in the churches. The most solemn subjects were thus treated, and the exhibition of the most sacred personages and themes was not unfrequently mingled with gross and profane buffoonery. These mysteries and moralities were generally performed in the open air; and as the actors were for the most part composed of clergymen, they were greatly in vogue in the neighbourhood of any abbey or con-

ventual establishment, which could always furnish a quota of performers. A particular spot was commonly set apart for this purpose, known as the *Playfield*, where the ground, either naturally or artificially, was so constituted as to afford the necessary accommodation for the open-air stage, and enable the audience to witness comfortably the representations there performed. Perth, Cupar, Stirling, Linlithgow, and other places, had all their *playfields;* and the exhibitions often acquired an additional *éclat* by the presence of the sovereign and his court.

There seems little reason to doubt that the field on the sea-shore at the western extremity of the burgh of Culross, immediately adjoining Balgownie stables, which bears to this day the name of the Playfield, was in Roman Catholic times the scene of many such representations, in which the principal parts were enacted by the monks of Culross Abbey. It may also have witnessed the performance of Sir David Lindsay's plays, and similar satires on the corruptions of the Church and the vices of the clergy, which are said to have materially contributed to the accomplishment of the Reformation. The space in question is admirably adapted for an open-air theatre, having a fine sunny sloping bank on the north side, on which crowds of spectators could sit and view the performance on the level space below. The ground is quite unfitted for athletic sports or military exercises; and no other *plays* but those of the stage could ever have been exhibited here with any suc-

cess. In recent times it has been converted into the orchard and garden attached to Balgownie House.

At the Reformation the rental of Culross Abbey amounted, we are told, to £768, 16s. 7d. of money; 3 chalders,[1] 3 bolls of wheat; 14 chalders, 10 bolls, 2 firlots of barley; 13 chalders, 12 bolls, 3 firlots, 3½ pecks of oats; 1 chalder, 2 bolls of salt; 10 wedders, 22 lambs; 7 dozen of capons; 28½ dozen of poultry; 7½ stone of butter; 79½ stone of cheese; and 8 trusses of straw. At its suppression the monastery contained only nine monks, having probably for some time previously been undergoing a gradual process of decay and diminution in the number of its inmates. Of these nine who had thus lingered to the last in the old cloisters, five embraced the Reformed doctrines, and had probably some small pension assigned to them. Four, however, remained constant to their old faith, and, we may conclude, were ignominiously extruded. In the first volume of the burgh records, which dates from 1588, we find among the inhabitants of Culross at that period one or two persons who are designated "priests,"—probably superannuated monks from the Abbey.

As regards the landed property held by the monastery, it comprised lands not merely in the parish of Culross, but in those of Torryburn, Saline, and others. The little parish of Crombie, afterwards united to Torryburn, seems to have been almost

[1] A Scottish grain-measure containing sixteen bolls.

entirely the property of the convent. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between what actually was ecclesiastical property and what amounted merely to a right of superiority or lordship involving the payment of certain duties. Had the Culross Chartulary existed, many obscurities resting on the subject might have been removed.

There is, however, a document preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum which gives a vidimus or synopsis of the revenues of Culross Abbey, which, it will be remembered, was, on the suppression of the monasteries and annexation of benefices to the Crown, formed into a temporal lordship, and bestowed on Sir James Colville of Easter Wemyss, with the title of Lord Colville of Culross. It seems to have been drawn up in 1630, on the occasion of a stent or measure of taxation having been imposed in the time of James, or, as he is there styled, *John*, second Lord Colville of Culross, and grandson of the first lord. The title is, "Taxt Roll of the Abbaye of Culross, given up and taxt in a Court, holden by John, Lord Colvill of Culross, for his Relieffe of £344, 8s. 10d., layd on the sd. Abbaye in anno 1630, himself and the whole vassals almost compearing." The various lands which paid tribute to the monastery, with the names of the proprietors, and the respective amounts of feu-duty paid by them to Lord Colville, are all stated in detail. The account corresponds pretty closely with what has been already mentioned of the revenues of Culross Abbey at the time of the Reformation.

CHAPTER XXV.

MONUMENTS OF CULROSS AND TULLIALLAN—
continued.

THE original parish church of Culross, known as the West Kirk, is situated nearly a mile west by north of the Abbey Church, on the old road leading through the moor to Kincardine. Nothing whatever is known of its early history, beyond the information, already detailed, contained in the Act of the Scottish Parliament of 1633, which finally stripped it of its dignity as the parish church, and transferred this *status* to the Abbey Church, which had practically and solely served this function ever since the Reformation.

The West Kirk had thus never witnessed within its walls any other services than those of the Roman Catholic faith. It probably dates its origin from the first division of Scotland into parishes, which is supposed to have taken place in the twelfth century, in the reign of David I. The primitive rudeness of its architecture warrants us in referring its erection to a very remote period, the style of building approxi-

mating very closely to those ancient edifices, few in number, which are still to be found in England, and have been classed under the denomination of Early Saxon. Its dimensions are small, having a length from east to west of about sixty-eight feet, and a breadth of eighteen feet. The only part of the walls that remains tolerably entire is on the east and south sides. The latter contains a low and primitive doorway, with jambs and lintel, unprovided with any ornament; and immediately adjoining it, on its west side, is a narrow aperture or window, once surmounted by a plain pointed arch. This last is the only remaining object in the architecture of the West Kirk that preserves a distinctly ecclesiastical character, if we except two large stones sculptured with crosses. These have been built into the walls, one of them serving as a lintel for the doorway just mentioned, and the other as that of a plain window three feet square on the north side. It seems difficult to account for their situation in their present position, unless we suppose them to have been originally tombstones, and that in Protestant times the ruined church may have been used as a burial-place, and the decaying walls patched up with those relics of a past age. By some the sculptures in question have been held to represent swords—to which, indeed, they bear some resemblance—and a theory was in consequence maintained that the West Kirk had formerly belonged to the Knights Templars. But there is no evidence whatever to support this, and there can be little question that the de-

lineations on the stones are crosses in the medieval style of art.

What may originally have been a projection or transept on the south side of the church, is now used as the burying-vault of the Johnstons of Sands. It was purchased in the middle of the last century by the ancestor of the present proprietor from the Browns of Barhill.

The churchyard of the West Kirk is still occasionally used for interments, though for the most part these are confined to the Abbey churchyard. A handsome mausoleum has of recent years been erected on the west side, though not actually within the precinct, as the burial-place of Mr Dalgleish of West Grange.

In a field to the north of the West Kirk, on the farm of the Ashes, is a spring of excellent water, which bears the name of the Monks' Well. The name seems to have come down from Roman Catholic times, as the designation of the fountain-head from which the monastery was supplied. At least there was then some kind of reservoir here, as, in an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1594, confirming to Alexander Gaw of Maw his possession of certain lands conveyed to him and his predecessors by the Commendator and Convent of Culross, the field in question is designated "The Cisterns." At the present day, Culross Abbey derives its supply of water from the Monks' Well, as did also the mansion of Valleyfield, till it was cut off in consequence of a

dispute between Lady Baird and the trustees of Sir Robert Preston.

The mansion of Culross Abbey, which closely adjoins the eastern side of the Abbey churchyard, is said to have been built out of the materials of the old monastery, and very probably out of those of which the buildings of the refectory on the south side of the cloister court were composed. This splendid though uncompleted edifice was originally erected in 1608 by the first Lord Kinloss, King James's favourite counsellor, and Master of the Rolls. I have already given my reasons for conjecturing that the plan was furnished by the celebrated Inigo Jones, who was then architect to the Court; and besides the public works in which he has left so many memorials of himself, had also designed several mansions for the English nobility. The whole style of architecture is so superior to anything that could have been produced in Scotland at the period, that doubts have been propounded as to its being the work at all of the early part of the seventeenth century. But all the historical and local evidence that we have goes to show that it really dates from that time; and the supposition being admitted of the services of an eminent foreign architect having been called into requisition, the encountering difficulty vanishes.

Culross Abbey, which thus succeeded to the title of the old monastery, is an oblong building of three storeys, flanked by turrets at the east and west ex-

tremities of its south front, which, standing on the crest of the hill, both commands a magnificent prospect, and, when viewed from below on the water, forms, with the church and monastery ruins, a most imposing and picturesque group, overshadowing the town of Culross. The architecture belongs to the Renaissance or Italian order, such as may be seen in Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh, the Banqueting House, Whitehall, Greenwich Hospital, and other buildings which are associated with the genius of Inigo Jones. It had originally only been an edifice of two storeys, with a tower at each extremity; and the intention doubtless was to have it completed in the form of a quadrangle, with a court and grand entrance, most probably on the eastern side. A portion of the west side of the quadrangle, at right angles to the front or south side, was actually erected, and now remains to show the plan of the founder. It is said that Lady Hay, the last surviving niece of Sir Robert Preston, had in contemplation, besides the restoration of the tower of the church, the completion of the quadrangle of Culross Abbey.

The architraves of the windows on the first floor, as well as those on the upper storeys of the turrets, are marked with the initials L. E. B., D. M. B.—these denoting respectively Lord Edward Bruce of Kinloss, and his wife Dame Magdalen Bruce, a daughter of Alexander Clerk of Balbirnie. On the east gable are two superimposed dates, 1608 and 1670. The first refers to the edifice as originally erected by Lord Kinloss; the second to the

third storey, added in the year last mentioned by Alexander, second Earl of Kincardine.

On one of the old flags which used to be borne in former times on the occasion of riding the burgh marches, Culross Abbey was represented as a building of only two storeys. It had evidently been found too expensive and impracticable an undertaking to complete it in accordance with the original plan, and accordingly the makeshift device was employed of increasing the accommodation by the superimposition of a third storey and attics. These last have now disappeared, in consequence of the demolition operations of Sir Robert Preston. It is extremely likely that, in making this addition to the Abbey, Lord Kincardine availed himself of the services of his kinsman, the celebrated Sir William Bruce of Kinross, the first architect of his day, and the designer, both of the greater part of Holyrood Palace as then reconstructed, and his own splendid mansion of Kinross House on the shores of Loch Leven.

The entrance to Culross Abbey is on the north side; but all the principal apartments face the south, and command splendid views of the Forth and opposite shores. The first floor is almost entirely occupied by a grand suite of rooms, consisting of dining and drawing rooms, connected by a noble gallery, after the same manner as is displayed in Hatfield House, Herts, the seat of Lord Salisbury, which was designed by Inigo Jones for the first holder of the title—Elizabeth and James's celebrated

statesman, Sir Robert Cecil. One of those rooms used, in Lord Dundonald's time, to be hung with fine Gobelins tapestry, and was known as the *King's Room*, from the tradition of King James having been entertained here on his visit to Scotland in 1617.

Notwithstanding the imposing appearance of Culross Abbey, the number of apartments that it contains is, owing to the narrowness of the building and the space taken up with corridors and state-rooms, not so great as might be imagined. Sir Walter Scott indeed, on the occasion of his visit, expressed the opinion that it could not be much more serviceable to Sir Robert Preston than as a banqueting-house.

By his will Sir Robert's trustees were directed to maintain the Abbey in a habitable condition; and he moreover directed, in somewhat whimsical fashion, that the old designation of Culross Abbey should be exchanged for the appellation of the Abbey Elizabeth, in compliment to his deceased partner, Lady Preston, *née* Miss Elizabeth Brown. This new nomenclature, however, was never adopted except in one or two legal documents, and is now quite abandoned.

After remaining untenanted, except by a housekeeper in charge, and almost wholly unfurnished, during a period of more than thirty years, Culross Abbey was, on the accession of the Elgin family, held in lease for eight years by Henry Liddell, Esq., of the Bombay Civil Service, who died here in 1873. It is now occupied by Major Johnston of the Madras Service, uncle of Laurence Johnston, Esq. of Sands.

The Abbey garden and orchard, comprising for the most part those belonging to the old convent, stretch down the slope of the hill towards the public road, and from their productiveness and fine exposure, still testify to the horticultural skill and judgment of the monks. They seem to have been laid out in their present terrace form by Alexander, second Earl of Kincardine, who at least must have built the pavilion or arbour which occupies the eastern extremity of the fine upper terrace, and bears the date of 1674. An ancient oak settle placed within this summer-house has carved upon it, among other indentations, the words "Jo. Cochrane, 1767," which were probably cut there in his boyhood by the Hon. John Cochrane, Deputy-Commissary to the Forces in North Britain, and younger brother of Archibald, ninth Earl of Dundonald, the unfortunate projector and speculator. It is probable, however, that the seat is as old as the pavilion itself.

The whole of the grounds about the Abbey, though not of great extent, are extremely beautiful, both in themselves and the splendid views which they command. They used in former days to be the wonder and pride of the country round. One of the earliest descriptions of them is contained in the work entitled 'A Journey through Scotland,' published in 1723, which, if I mistake not, is the production of no less distinguished an author than Daniel Defoe. The edition, however, that I have seen in the British Museum, does not bear his name on the title-page, and the narrative in question is not included in his

'Tour through Great Britain,' published in 1724. There can at least be no question as to the date of the work, whatever dubiety we may feel regarding the author. Having arrived at North Queensferry, he thus proceeds with the account of his journey :—

"Continuing my course westwards by the Frith banks, I arrived in four[1] miles at Culross, a most noble ancient seat of the Bruces, Earls of Kincairn; it stands on an eminence, as that of Weems does, and hath a noble prospect across the Frith of the county of West Lothian, up the Frith to the mountains above Sterling, and down below Edinburgh. One cannot imagine a nobler palace. It is built all of freestone; the front to the south is above two hundred foot, with a tower three stories high at each corner, and under this front is a terras as long and as broad as that at Windsor, with a pavilion at each end, and below the terras run hanging gardens for half a mile down to the Frith. The design of these gardens was vast; but as they are, you can only judge of what they were to be and might be. When my Lord Mar was laying out his fine gardens at Allaway, I am told that when he saw these he thanked God that Culross was not his, for the expense of keeping it up would ruin him. The house is well furnished, and in the great staircase are some very good pictures of knights of the Golden Fleece, cardinals, bishops, abbots, and other eminent men of the name of Bruce. This branch of the Bruces is sprung from that of Blairhall, as that of Ailesbury in England is, and all of them from Bruce of Clackmannan; in this neighbourhood they are a very ancient clan, and very great in this neighbourhood.

"Culross is also a good market-town, and there hath been a large old monastery, whose ruins join the outer court of

[1] Possibly a slip for *fourteen*, which, though about four miles in excess, is nearer the mark.

the Lord Kincairn's palace. From Culross in six miles I arrived at the fine village of Alloway, belonging to Erskine, Earl of Mar."

It is evident from the above that the journey here described must have been made not later than 1705, the year in which Alexander, third Earl of Kincardine, died. Subsequently to that, the Abbey was occupied by Lady Mary Cochrane and her husband. We know that Defoe visited Scotland two or three years previous to the Union, and had been despatched thither as a sort of commissioner to aid in bringing about that event. It is highly probable that he would make a peregrination through the principal burgh towns of Scotland, and Culross among the rest. I cling, therefore, strongly to the idea that the author of 'Robinson Crusoe' actually paid a visit to Culross, and that it is to his pen that we owe one of the earliest descriptions of the present Abbey and its grounds.

In further reference to this account—given, as I am inclined to think, by Defoe—it may be observed that the original design of the Abbey gardens and pleasure-grounds seems to have been on no less magnificent a scale than that of the mansion itself. The *res angusta domi* had in both instances prevented the complete realisation. It appears from the title-deeds of the Abbey that its site and some of the ground immediately adjoining were purchased in parcels from different proprietors. There was thus originally no Culross estate, properly so called; and even the Earls of Kincardine, as representa-

tives of Sir George Bruce, notwithstanding the great extent of territory inherited by them, owned no large amount of property in the immediate vicinity of the family mansion. The lands which Lady Mary Cochrane succeeded in retaining—in opposition to the claims of the Black Colonel, who had purchased the bulk of the Kincardine estates—were but of limited extent. Her son Charles Cochrane, however, made some additions to the family property.

Reference has already been made to Slezer's 'Theatrum Scotiæ,' which, published in 1693, contains both the earliest pictorial representation of Culross and its Abbey, and in the letterpress attached to the print the earliest descriptive account. The author's name is thus stated on the title-page—"John Slezer, Captain of the Artillery Company, and Surveyor of their Majesties Stores and Magazines in the Kingdom of Scotland." The views compose a folio volume, and the plate representing each place is dedicated to the proprietor of the estate. That of Culross is inscribed, "To the Right Honourable Alexander, Earl of Kincardine, Lord Bruce," &c. The mansion and grounds of the Abbey bear a very close resemblance to their appearance at the present day, but the foreground and the rest of the picture generally are rough and extravagant. As regards the ruins of the monastery, there is shown a large castle-like building just in front of the present remains, whilst the arches on the south side of the cloister court which supported the refectory are also distinctly manifest. The following description is

appended to the print, translated, it is said, from the Latin of Sir Robert Sibbald:—

"Culrosse hath its name from Cul, which signifies a bank or back; and Rosse, which was the ancient name of Fife, because it lies in the western corner of that shire.

"It is situated on a descent at the side of the river of Forth —its chief commodities being salt and coals. That which chiefly adorns it is the stately buildings of the Earl of Kincardin, with the gardens and terrace-walks about it, having a pleasant prospect to the very mouth of the river Forth. Near unto these buildings are to be seen the ruins of an ancient monastery."

As regards the first part of the above description, it may be observed that there is no evidence whatever that Fife had ever anciently the designation of Ross, or that it ever included Culross within its territory. The allegation seems to have arisen from a fanciful idea regarding the peninsular form of "The Kingdom," as lying between the Firths of Forth and Tay. And Culross was supposed to mark the *back* of the peninsula, as Kinross did the *head*. I shall have something to say regarding the etymologies of Culross and its district in another chapter.

At the south-eastern extremity of the Abbey grounds, just without the eastern side of the garden of St Mungo's, and closely adjoining the public road, are the remains of St Mungo's Kirk or Chapel, founded by Archbishop Blackadder in 1503, on the reputed locality of the landing of St Thenew and birth of St Mungo. It is probable, indeed, that an older cell

or chapel marked this site, and the ground seems in former times to have been part of the patrimony of St Mungo's Cathedral in Glasgow. In the 'Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis,' edited by Cosmo Innes for the Maitland Club, it is stated that Robert Blackadder, the first archbishop of Glasgow, received from James IV., on 24th May 1503, a grant of the lands of Cragrossy, in Strathern, and on 27th May of same year, from the revenues of these lands, founded and endowed St Mungo's Chapel at Culross. The terms of the foundation are as follows: "Robertus Glasguensis archiepiscopus primus a reditibus terrarum de Cragrossy quas ecclesiæ donavit fundavit vnam capellaniam in ecclesia beatissimi Kentigerni confessoris vbi idem natus erat per archiepiscopum constructa et edificata prope monasterium de Culros."

The chapel is a complete ruin, almost level with the ground, with the exception of the north wall, which resembles a sunk fence in the bank above, and leaves it a matter of uncertainty whether it was originally built in this form or from the first stood detached, the intervening space between the wall and declivity having been subsequently filled up by the gradual descent of earth and rubbish. Two large beech-trees, certainly not of remote antiquity, flourish on the summit of this space. There is also the decayed trunk of an ancient elder-tree which grows near the north-western extremity, where some remains of the west wall and entrance are still visible. Of the south wall only the foundations are traceable, and these project into the public road beyond the

present enclosing wall, which was built by Sir Robert Preston. The eastern extremity of the building formed a three-sided apse—a construction differing from the ordinary shape of the apse, which is generally semicircular. The lower part of its east and north-east side is still entire, the latter exhibiting on the outside a fine front of hewn stone. Traces of windows are also to be seen here. The length of the chapel from east to west is 54 feet, and the breadth 20 feet. A wall, still partly remaining, separated the outer compartment or nave from the interior or chancel, and the raised floor of flagstones with their rounded edges is still very plainly marked here in front of the site of the high altar and east window. Traces of *sedilia* or seats appear along the north wall, which has a height of from 10 to 12 feet.

About twenty years ago St Mungo's Chapel, which had been long abandoned to neglect, and turned into a receptacle of rubbish, was cleared out, and the outlines of the building, with its pavement of flagstone, disclosed to view. It was visited shortly afterwards by a party of members of the Scottish Antiquarian Society, including Drs Joseph Robertson and Robert Chambers, who were conducted to the various objects of interest around Culross by the Rev. W. Stephen, who acted as cicerone. Some excavations made either then or a short time previously resulted in the discovery of four skeletons—three of grown persons, and one of a child. These were lying almost immediately under the pavement,

and must have been buried in Protestant times after a considerable depth of earth had accumulated. Many loose bones were also found among the rubbish.[1]

On the bank behind the chapel was St Mungo's churchyard, enclosed by a wall, of which a small portion still remains on the east side of the garden attached to the house of St Mungo's. Persons only recently deceased remembered seeing tombstones here, and one of them informed me that on one occasion he had dug up a coffin-handle. This was about 1816, when Sir Robert Preston was planting clumps of trees round the fishing cottage, and had given orders that the mould required for that purpose should be taken from the ground behind St Mungo's Chapel. On understanding that he was desecrating a churchyard, he directed that no more earth should be taken from that place. There is reason to believe that burials took place occasionally here as late as 1750. During the last century also, St Mungo's Chapel was used as a place of meeting by the Freemasons of Culross, who were in the practice of walking thither in grand procession. The local fraternity was a branch of the great St Mungo's Lodge of Glasgow, which is said to have been in the habit of sending representatives on such occasions. The so-called "St Mungo's lands" or territory in the neighbourhood of the chapel appear to have been regarded as ecclesiastical property belonging to the

[1] Lectures on the Antiquities of Culross, by Rev. W. Stephen (in MS.)

see of Glasgow, and thus gave Archbishop Blackadder an indisputable right to raise on this spot a chapel in honour of the saint. Certainly we find Queen Mary, in virtue of the annexation at the Reformation of the ecclesiastical domains to the Crown, bestowing on the city of Glasgow by royal charter, in 1566, "the lands, rents, and revenues belonging to the chaplaincies and altarages of St Mungo." In 1572 the city made over these to the University of Glasgow, who appear, however, to have afterwards disposed of their right. The chapel and churchyard seem to have been regarded as the property of the church of Culross. We have already seen, in Chapter xiv., a claim preferred by the kirk-session against Mrs Sands, living near St Mungo's Kirk, for an alleged encroachment she was making on what was considered to be ecclesiastical or parochial property.

Next to the Abbey there are no houses more interesting about Culross than the two old mansions enclosed within a court at the north-west corner of the Sand Haven, and known as "the Colonel's Close," from having been occupied in the first half of the last century by the Black Colonel. Of the two houses, one bears the date 1597 and the initials G. B., from the great George Bruce, its founder; the other has the date 1611 and the initials S. G. B., having been erected after Bruce had been raised to the rank of a knight. Though respectable and substantial in appearance, such as befitted the residence of a wealthy burgess of the day, they are by no means remarkable

for splendour or beauty of architecture, and certainly were not designed by Inigo Jones.

It is the interior of these houses which possesses the chief interest, from the curious painted ceiling with which the principal apartment in each is adorned. The ceilings are coved, and the material on which the paintings are executed consists of thin planking, now very much decayed. The colours are still wonderfully vivid, though in many places time and damp have obliterated the pictures. In the older house these consist of a series of allegorical designs, well drawn, and having attached to each a sentence in black-letter, as a text for the pictorial sermon, which is either some moral lesson or a representation of the general instability and uncertainty of human affairs. In the days of Queen Elizabeth and James these were favourite subjects both for the artist and poet, and in the latter capacity Edmund Spenser has shown himself *facile princeps* as the week-day preacher who presents sacred and philosophic truths in attractive guise.

These pictures in Sir George Bruce's old house, though they cannot lay claim to a high artistic excellence, are nevertheless of very respectable execution. Among the designs are "Ulysses and the Sirens," "Fortune with her Wheel," &c. They are most valuable as specimens of house decoration of the period, and King James has doubtless frequently sat under and contemplated them on occasion of his visiting Culross in his expeditions from Dunfermline, and partaking of the hospitality of Sir George Bruce.

The same house contains a muniment or strong room, with a vaulted roof and a massive iron door. There used to be in the room with the painted ceiling a curious folding-down bed, fixed in the wainscot, showing that our ancestors, though they were fond of splendidly carved couches, with grand canopies and heavy curtains, were yet singularly indifferent to comfort in their arrangements for sleeping. Their ideas of bedroom accommodation seem to have been limited to one state chamber, whilst the ordinary members of the family contented themselves with concealed beds, shakedowns, and makeshifts of every kind.

The painted room in the mansion of 1611 is of a less pretentious character than that in the older house, the ornaments consisting mainly of geometrical delineations. Each house is quite distinct from the other, and both are in a woful state of dilapidation, especially the older mansion of 1597. No one has occupied either for many years, and the havoc caused by wind, weather, and general neglect has been very great. It is much to be regretted that something has not been done to rescue those memorials of the great merchant-prince of Culross from rapidly approaching destruction.

It is possible enough that the second house may have been erected by Sir George to accommodate his son, the younger George Bruce of Carnock. It is clear that, being both situated within the same court, they could only have been intended as residences for members of the same family, or at least very inti-

mate friends. And there seems to have been only one garden, common to both mansions.

From references in the burgh and kirk-session records there can be little doubt of at least the first Earl of Kincardine, Sir George Bruce's grandson, having resided in the tenement in the Sand Haven, though in which of the houses is quite uncertain. His brother Alexander, second Earl, may also have resided here for a time, though shortly after 1670, at latest, he had removed to the Abbey, which had passed from the representatives of the first Lord Kinloss to those of his younger brother, Sir George Bruce. The Kincardine family continued to possess the property in the Sand Haven till about 1700, when it was transferred, with the bulk of their estates, by judicial sale to the Black Colonel.

Colonel John Erskine of Carnock having found himself prevented from including in his purchase the mansion and grounds of Culross Abbey, which he had to resign to Lady Mary Cochrane, took up his abode in the Sand Haven, and from him the tenement derives its old and most fitting designation of the Colonel's Close. Tradition has constantly asserted, though I have been unable to find direct confirmation of the fact, that the Black Colonel occupied one of the houses in the court, whilst the other was tenanted by his kinsman the White Colonel. There was thus a double propriety in the bestowal of the appellation. Latterly the Colonel's Close became the property of the Halkerston family, the members of which, father and son, were succes-

sively town-clerks of Culross. It passed by inheritance from Miss Halkerston, last resident of the name in Culross, to her relative, the late Captain James Kerr of East Grange. After his death it was sold by his representatives to Mr Luke, in the possession of whose family it still remains.

When Captain Kerr succeeded to the Colonel's Close, he found it designated in the title-deeds as the Palace or Great Lodging in the Sand Haven of Culross. Not well versed in ancient legal phraseology, he at once leapt to the conclusion that the tenement of which he was now proprietor had in ancient times been a royal residence. He consequently dubbed it "The Palace," and its surrounding court "Palace Yard." The title was captivating; and to the present hour people not merely speak of the building as "The Palace," but assertions have even found their way into print of its having been an ancient residence of one or more of the Scottish kings.

Now the whole of this nomenclature is an absurd blunder, originating in Captain Kerr's mistake of identifying with a royal residence the "palatium" or "palace" in the title-deeds of the Colonel's Close. This is nothing more than the appellation which, in law Latin and phraseology, is used to denote any large or imposing building, more especially any building which is occupied by a nobleman. Culross Abbey is also designed The Palace or Great Lodging, and many similar instances from other places in Scotland might be produced. The term "Colonel's

Close," as my friend Mr Stephen used to observe, ought still to be retained, both from having been so long employed, and from its preserving the memory of an important local if not historical personage. But when the public has once laid hold of a name, it is almost impossible to get it altered; and I fear, therefore, that the misnomer of "The Palace" will continue to mislead and perplex as long as the building itself exists.

The town-house of Culross deserves some notice, were it for nothing more than the elegant bell-tower which imparts so picturesque an appearance to the lower part of the town, and is in its way as characteristic a feature of Culross as her church and abbey. The building itself dates from the year 1626; but the tower was only erected in 1783, and provided then with a clock and bell. The town-hall, or "tolbooth," as it used to be called, faces the Sand Haven, and is approached by a double flight of steps leading to the first floor, which contains the council-chamber and a room formerly known as the "Debtors' Room,"[1] but now used as the house of the town-officer. The ground-storey is what used to be known as the "Laigh Tolbooth" or the "Iron House," and, as this last grim title imports, was frequently used as a

[1] In the Debtors' Room is the inscription in gold letters, by a grateful municipality, to Sir George Preston of Valleyfield, for his benefaction of 2000 marks to the town of Culross. This circumstance goes to show that there must have been some subsequent rearrangement of the interior of the tolbooth, as it is extremely unlikely that such a memorial would have been attached to the wall of a prison chamber.

prison. Another place of confinement was in the so-called "High Tolbooth," or garret of the town-house, a dreary fireless place, contained within the lofty roof of the building, and lighted through the slates. Here the unfortunate women accused of witchcraft used to be confined and "watched." In front of the town-hall stands a stone platform, well known in Scottish burghs as the "Tron," or "Trone," which, in Edinburgh and Glasgow, gave a designation to the churches immediately adjoining. It was the place where commodities were weighed, and the term belongs properly to the weighing-machine itself, which consisted of a wooden post supporting two cross horizontal bars with beaked extremities. From the latter circumstance, the word is derived—*i.e.*, from the old Norse *trana*, a beak or crane. It is probably also connected radically with *tree* and *throne*.

Previous to the erection of the present town-hall there had been an older building, the site of which, in a Scottish Act of Parliament of 1594, is spoken of as the "ground of the auld tolbuith." No information can be procured now regarding its situation. It had doubtless been the *prætorium* and prison-house in the days of the burgh of barony under the abbots.

Just where a narrow passage, like the neck of a bottle, connects the Back Causeway with the open space about the Cross, stands a tower-like building containing a fine spiral staircase, which gives access to two large apartments in the adjoining tenement,

used as workshops by Mr John Harrower, the proprietor. The lower one of these is a fine well-proportioned room, lined with oak-panelling, beautifully carved, of which that on the east wall is still in good preservation, and is, moreover, adorned with some fine inlaid work of a different material. It bears the date 1633, which, however, is probably only that of the panelling itself, as indicating the period when, in churchwarden phrase, the apartment was "beautified" by its owner, some wealthy burgess of the seventeenth century. His initials, J. A., and A. P. (those, doubtless, of his wife), are carved with the date on the wainscot, and they also appear on a beautifully carved door, now detached, though still in Mr Harrower's possession, which had belonged to the same apartment. The initials may stand for John Adam and Alison Primrose; but I can produce little more than conjecture in support of this statement. There was a family of substantial burgesses in Culross in the seventeenth century of the name of Adam; and one of them, who bore the designation of Bailie William Adam, suffered severely in the days of Charles II. for his Covenanting principles. He may have been the son of John Adam, who again may have married an Alison Primrose, of a family of great repute in ancient Culross, from a member of which, Duncan Primrose by name, as already mentioned, the former lairds of Burnbrae and the present Rosebery family are descended.

The tenement in question looks to the south, facing the Cross, and has other apartments besides those to

which access is gained from the turret stair. One of these is on the same floor, was originally fitted up in the same style, and communicated probably with the lower wainscoted room. The wall which forms the north boundary of both is provided with a range of curious arched recesses of hewn stone, which some have imagined served the purpose of containing book-shelves. Following this conjecture, it has been surmised that the two apartments in question formed a library, and had possibly belonged as such to the abbots of the old monastery. Others have connected them with Bishop Leighton, to whose diocese Culross belonged. And the appellation of "the Study," which the tenement has borne from time immemorial, has been explained as expressing the purpose for which it was originally employed.

As no positive evidence whatever exists on the subject, I venture to put forward my own opinion, that the recesses were nothing more nor less than cupboards or *buffets*, which served to contain plate and other articles, as a fitting appendage and set-off to the general splendour of the apartments. And as regards "the Study," I think the term has been derived not from these rooms, but from a very curious apartment at the top of the turret stair. This forms externally a prominent object, projecting as it does slightly from the lower walls of the tower on which it rests. It is entered from the summit of the spiral staircase, by a tiny corkscrew stair of its own, which is both of the narrowest dimensions and closed at the foot by a door. Ascending it, we

find ourselves in a small chamber of about nine feet square and a little over seven feet in height. It contains a fireplace, and has three small windows or apertures, looking respectively east, west, and south, commanding views of the whole town of Culross, and taking in the Forth and its shores as far as Queensferry on one side, and the Carse of Falkirk on the other. There is no opening on the north side, doubtless from the view in that quarter being obstructed by a steep sloping bank. It is exactly such an apartment as formed the habitation of the sage Herr Teufelsdröckh and overlooked the whole city of Weissnichtwo. The little staircase leading to it is so narrow, that in the case of an old woman who lived and died here, it is alleged to have been necessary to carry her down and place her in her coffin on the landing-place at the top of the lower stairs. Certainly no place could embody more completely the idea of a philosopher or wizard's chamber, cut off as it is so completely from the outer world, and yet affording such scope for the study both of nature and mankind, in the distant view of sea and land, and the near one of the surging tide of humanity which on market-days gathered round the Cross of Culross.

I conclude, therefore, that this little chamber, from having been used at one time as a study or observatory, has given its name to the whole tenement, the walls of which, it may be remarked, are of an extraordinary thickness—the gable end having a breadth of nearly four feet. Adjoining the house, as we

ascend the hill, is another tenement, occupied by Mr Harrower himself, which has a remarkable semicircular projection that may at one time have served as part of a staircase. What may also have been the doorway at the foot is now converted into a window, and over it appears the following Greek inscription:—

Ὁ ΘΕΟΣ ΠΡΟΝΟΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΝΟΗΣΕΙ—

"God provideth and will provide;"

one of those pious and pithy sayings which our forefathers were so fond of engraving on their dwellings. The date and author of the inscription are unknown, and the house to which it belongs, though old, has no other characteristic deserving of special notice.

The Cross of Culross is an ancient structure as regards its basement, but the upper part is modern, having been re-erected in 1819. Four streets converge on the little space fronting the Cross. A little down from the latter, in the Middle Causeway, nearly opposite the Dundonald Arms, is a fine old house, which tradition has connected with Robert Leighton, who as Bishop of Dunblane, the diocese to which Culross belonged, is said to have resided here on the occasion of his official visitations. The house is old enough to have existed in the days of "the saintly Leighton," and it contains at least one large and handsome apartment, finely panelled. But the tradition has been as little verified as the conjectures regarding the Study.

Facing the town of Culross, and running parallel to the shore at the distance of about a hundred yards, is a ridge of rocks, known as the Ailie rocks, behind which the votaries of Neptune may indulge in the luxury of a bath without the least risk of being overlooked by profane gazers. At the western extremity of these rocks is what is referred to occasionally in the burgh records as the Oxcraig. This derived its name from the existence there of a species of rude staircase, up which cattle were driven to be shipped on the farther side for Borrowstounness. Near this point is a large blue boulder-stone, which, according to popular tradition, marks the place of sepulture of those who died of the plague in 1645, and were buried here to prevent the dissemination of infection by their being interred in the churchyard. Here also were deposited, it is said, the bodies of any persons who by suicide or other demerits had rendered themselves unworthy of Christian burial. A medical man in Culross who lived at the head of the Tanhouse Brae, and had been discovered hidden in a chimney after having murdered his wife, was apprehended and lodged in prison, where he ended his life by poison. His body was interred also near the Blue Rock. Bones and fragments of coffins have frequently been exhumed and floated ashore from this spot, as I am credibly assured by persons on whose averments I can place unhesitating reliance. The Blue Rock has now been somewhat diminished, from portions of it having been broken down and carried away to make road-metal. At a little dis-

tance on the west side of the harbour is the pier of Culross, which originally was disconnected from the shore, and could only be reached at low-water or by wading. A new pier, constructed of stones taken from the Oxcraig, was erected a good many years ago, and connected with the outer pier by a wooden jetty.

About two hundred yards up the Forth, and nearly due west from the extremity of the outer pier, is the celebrated moat of Sir George Bruce, now merely visible at low-water like a heap or *rickle* of stones. It was here that formerly a massive circular building towered above the surface of the water, as has been already described in the extract from the "Pennilesse Pigrimage" of the Water Poet, which presents a very graphic picture of the appearance of the moat and mine in 1618. Having been blown down in the great storm of the Borrowing Days, at the time of King James's death, the works were completely destroyed, and never again resumed. At present the three concentric walls of hewn stone of which the building consisted are still distinctly visible, though almost level with the ground. The tops of piles are also to be seen, and the spaces between the three walls are firmly packed with blue clay. The distance between the two outer walls is 3 feet, and between the second and third walls fully 15. The diameter of the inner wall, which enclosed the shaft of the pit, is 18 feet, while that of the outer wall from edge to edge is about 60. The landing-place is supposed to have been on the eastern side,

and there are also remains on the south-west side of what seems to have been a breakwater. The moat communicated by workings under the sea with a pit on the shore, which is supposed to have been sunk in the hollow below the house of Castlehill or Dunimarle. The projection on the sea-shore, formerly an old "bucket-pat," has also some claims to be regarded as the site of the pit which the king descended on his memorable visit, to emerge subsequently by the moat. Remains of masonry which belonged to this pit, and the draining apparatus connected with it described by Taylor, are said to have been in existence in this neighbourhood up to the beginning of the present century. At the present time nothing regarding its site can be affirmed with certainty.

A very interesting monument of old Culross—and possibly, after the camps or earthworks, shortly to be mentioned, the very oldest in the parish—is the Standard Stone, on the outlying unenclosed portion of Culross Moor, a little to the north of the farm of Bordie. It consists of a block of freestone, flush with the ground, and containing two rectangular holes, in which tradition asserts that the Scottish Standard was fixed on the occasion of the conflict in the middle of the eleventh century between King Duncan's army and the invading host of Danes. The larger hole is about 20 inches long by 12 broad, with a depth of 10 inches; whilst the smaller is 12 inches long by 11 broad, with a depth of 8 inches. Immediately to the south of this, on

the farm of Bordie, is the field know as "Gib's croft," in which it is said that Gib, the son of Sweyn, King of Norway, was killed. The name seems a strange one for a Scandinavian prince; and it is questionable whether any higher degree of credit can attach to this tradition regarding the battle of Culross than to the story of the prowess, at the battle of Luncarty, of the stalwart ploughman and his sons who turned the tide of battle in favour of the Scots, and became the ancestors of the Errol family.

A little to the west, and north of the Standard Stone, in the open and unplanted part of the moor, is a curious memorial of the persecuting times, called the Pulpit. This is a stone or rock projecting from the side of a hollow in the moor, facing the north, and affording a convenient position for an orator or preacher addressing an audience standing or reclining on the ground below. The stone is partly hollowed out beneath, so as to present a sort of canopy towards the north—a circumstance that would not be worthy of mention, except that it serves to identify the rock and its surroundings. Conventicles are said to have been held here—a tradition which bears great marks of probability from the nature of the spot, which is both screened from observation and capable of accommodating a considerable assemblage. Culross Moor commands an extensive prospect on all sides, and scouts would be posted at various points of vantage to give notice of the approach of dragoons. We know, certainly, that conventicles were held in the neigh-

bourhood of Culross in the reign of Charles and James II., and no fitter place could be found for them than hollow places in the moor. The Rev. John Blackadder, the deprived minister of Troqueer, and one of the Blackadders of Tulliallan, held meetings, if not here, at least in the immediate neighbourhood. Another place on the moor that has been connected with conventicles is what is called the Prayer Brae, on the north-east skirts of the moor, about two miles from the Pulpit. But though such may really have been the case, no special locality can be pointed out; and I am strongly inclined to think that the name itself, which has principally given currency to the assertion, is a corruption. It is spelt "Prebry" in the burgh records, and seems to be derived from the Gaelic *preas-braigh—i.e.*, the "thicket height," or the "brae covered with wood." I shall have occasion afterwards to refer to the matter in the chapter on etymology.

The "Bore" or "boundary" stone of Culross Moor, already mentioned, will shortly again be referred to in connection with Tulliallan.

About half a mile to the east of the Standard Stone, on the estate of Blair Castle, there existed, previously to 1847, the remains of an ancient British intrenchment, said to have been occupied by King Duncan previous to the battle of Culross, and known by the name of Duncan's Camp. It was completely obliterated in that year by Mr Alison, then proprietor of the Blair Estate. Mr Stephen thus describes its appearance :—

"The site lay about a furlong or more to the north-west of Blair Castle. There was little even at this time to mark out the ground or site. Indeed I believe the remains then shown were those not of the camp, but of the Prætorium or general's quarters. There was no ditch or trench such as we find on the Castlehill and at the Moor Dam; there was simply a hollow of some ten or twelve yards in diameter—the entrance having to appearance been from the north, the ground sloping gently south. On the south side there was a wall or rampart of earth about five feet high. The whole ground was overgrown with brushwood and briers."

Another camp, situated about the same distance from the Standard Stone in a westerly direction, has been less ruthlessly treated, and is still tolerably well preserved. It closely adjoins the east side of the piece of water known as the Moor Dam or Tulliallan Water, and is said to have been the encamping place of the Danish, as Duncan's Camp was of the Scottish host, previous to the battle of Culross. It bears popularly the name of the "Trench Knowe," and has a diameter of about 60, and a circumference of about 180 yards. The ground has been partially planted with trees, and a portion of the camp has been encroached on by the water, but the oval trench and rampart can still be distinctly discerned.

A third camp in the parish of Culross is about the most perfect of all—though, being now covered with trees, and concealed within the recesses of a dense wood, its existence is almost unknown. It stands on the rising ground called Castlehill, on the estate of West Grange, about a quarter of a mile

to the south-west of Bogside Station. Its dimensions are nearly the same as those of the camp on Tulliallan Water, and its contour is more perfectly preserved. A tradition quoted in the Old Statistical Account of Culross asserts it to have been the station to which the Danes retreated after the battle of Inverkeithing. This may bear some remote reference to the last defeat of the Danes, when they were glad to secure a retreat for themselves in their ships, and permission to bury their dead in the island of Inchcolme.

Sir Ralph Abercromby, it is said, when residing at Brucefield on his paternal estate in the neighbourhood, took great interest in the camp of Castlehill, and used frequently of an afternoon, when he had military friends staying with him, to conduct them thither, to view this specimen of ancient castrametation. It was then free from trees, and commanded a very extensive view. Like all British or Danish encampments, it is oval in shape, and belongs in no way to Roman engineers, whose works are characterised by a square outline.

The parish of Tulliallan contains little that is interesting in an antiquarian point of view, except the two old churches and the old castle. Of the former, the oldest building has now almost entirely disappeared, and its site is occupied by the mausoleum of Lord Keith and his family. This building, with the ancient little churchyard in which it stands, is situated in a remote corner of Tulliallan Park,

about three-quarters of a mile to the north of the present castle. The original church, which had existed from Roman Catholic times, and probably from a period considerably anterior to the Reformation, was, as already mentioned, of extremely small dimensions. The parish of Tulliallan comprehended then merely the barony of that name; but the annexation to it in the middle of the seventeenth century of a large cantle of territory with a teeming population, taken from the adjoining parish of Culross, rendered it necessary to make more extended provision for the exigencies of public worship. A handsome new church in the Romanesque style of architecture was accordingly erected in 1675, about a mile to the south of the old church, on a rising ground overlooking the Forth and town of Kincardine. It was in its turn abandoned about half a century ago, as being too small to accommodate the worshippers in it; and an elegant new church, with a handsome tower, was erected at a little distance below. The church of 1675 was unroofed and dismantled, but the walls and belfry remain entire, and it retains the appearance of a picturesque ruin. The surrounding churchyard is still the burying-place of the parish, though of late years a new cemetery, erected by Lady Keith a little to the east of the town on the Torryburn road, has been gradually coming into favour with the public.

The old castle of Tulliallan is a picturesque ruin, situated in a park planted with fine old trees, about a mile to the north of the town of Kincardine. It

commands a splendid view of the Carse of Stirling and rich grounds of Dunmore, with the Campsie Hills, crested by the Earl's seat, in the far distance; whilst to the right of the spectator appears the sinuous crest of the Ochils, in the valley between which and the Campsies flows the silver Forth, with its many reaches and finely cultivated banks. At one period the Forth must almost have washed the walls of the building before the alluvial tract of carse land which now separates it from the river was reclaimed. In a notice of the parish drawn up by Mr Rait in 1722, and inserted in Macfarlane's Geographical Collections, preserved in MS. in the Advocates' Library, it is stated that the Castle of Tulliallan, formerly the seat of the Blackadders, stands close to the sea, and at that period was altogether in ruins.

The castle must have been a princely place in its day, befitting the residence of one whose brother was a munificent Churchman and first Archbishop of Glasgow. It stands on a square platform, supported by a wall, and surrounded by a moat which is still perfectly conspicuous. Some very ancient elder-trees overhang the moat on the west side. The castle consists of a main building three storeys in height, with a tower or keep at the north-east corner of five storeys. The lower or ground storey seems to have been chiefly used for kitchen and servants' accommodation, though the roofs of the apartments exhibit a series of beautifully groined vaulting, resting partly on the walls, partly on stone pillars, of

which one very fine octagon column stands in the centre of, and supports the roof of, the kitchen. Access to the upper apartments was gained by two turret staircases at the south-west corner and west side of the building; whilst a third staircase of a similar description, though not springing from the ground, led on the east side from the first floor to the upper chambers of the keep.

With the exception of the staircase in the centre of the west side—from which, with considerable difficulty, and even some peril, the first floor may be reached—the stone steps in the three turrets have almost completely disappeared; and of the floors, only that of one of the upper apartments remains entire. It is formed by the vaulted roof of the kitchen; whilst the same vaulting beneath a second chamber on the first floor has to a great extent fallen in, leaving only a narrow border along the walls, to be traversed with some little trouble and risk. These two chambers had evidently been the state apartments of the castle; and being large and well proportioned, and lighted with one or two spacious windows, besides smaller openings, all commanding beautiful and extensive prospects, they impress one with no unfavourable idea of the domestic accommodation of an old Scottish baron. In the western apartment are the remains of a finely hewn stone fireplace; and in the eastern, which is over the kitchen, the remains of a chimney and fireplace can also be traced. An upper row of chambers, serving as bedrooms, formed a second floor above these state

halls; and still higher above all were the bartizans and battlements of the castle.

The family of Blacater or Blackadder, to which the castle and barony of Tulliallan formerly belonged, was a very rich and powerful one, and an offshoot from the famous clan of that name in Berwickshire. From a passage in Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials' (year 1504), it would appear that the estate had come into their hands through the marriage of a Blackadder with Elizabeth Edmonstoune, the heiress of Tulliallan. Her son and successor, Sir Patrick Blackadder, appears as one of the witnesses to the deed of endowment of his brother Robert, the celebrated Archbishop of Glasgow, in favour of St Mungo's Chapel, founded by him at Culross. A successor of Sir Patrick in the Tulliallan estate—but whether son or other relation, does not appear—was John Blackadder, who, along with William Lothian, a priest, was beheaded in 1530 for the murder of James Inglis, abbot of Culross. The family would seem to have decayed after this, and in the early part of the seventeenth century the property went to swell the acquisitions of the celebrated Sir George Bruce of Carnock. The following passage from Pitcairn's 'Criminal Trials,' under date 10th November 1619, chronicles an outrage that seems to have been perpetrated by servants or dependants of Sir George,—it is to be hoped without sanction or connivance on his part, though he undertakes the function of cautioner for the delinquents :—

"*Taking the King's free liege—Famishing one of the lieges*

to death in private carcere.—Patrick Cowie in Kincardin; Johnne Dow, his servand; Johne Andersone, cordiner thair; Thomas Cowie, querriour thair; and David Miller, salter in Eister Kincardin,—

"Delated of the taking and keeping of umqle Thomas Davidsoun, hynd and servand to Alexander Leask in Porter, be the space of fyftene dayis in private carcere within the said Patrick Coweis hous; and thairfra caryeing him to the pitt[1] of Tullieallane, quhair, throu want of intertenement, he famisched and deit of hunger and remanent crymes contenit in the Letteris.

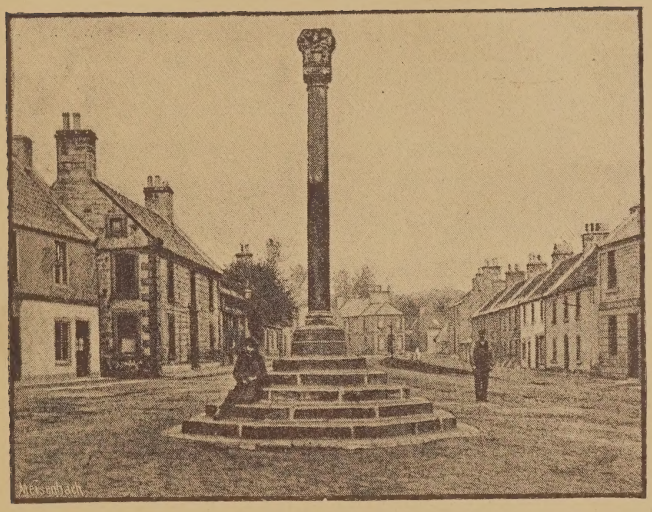
"The justice continewis this matter to the third day of the next justice-air of the scheriffdome quhair the defenderis dwellis (Clackmannane), or sooner, vpon xv. dayis warning. And ordanis thame to find new caution, &c.; quha fand Sir George Bruce of Carnock, knyt, personallie present, for thair re-entrie."

Nothing further is recorded of this horrible case, and it is probable that further procedure in it was quashed. A period of nearly one hundred and thirty years was still to elapse before the abolition of heritable jurisdictions with their inevitable concomitant abuses.

About half a mile to the south of the castle is an eminence bearing the name of the Chapel Hill, but on which no remains of any kind are now visible. It was doubtless in Roman Catholic times crowned by a small chapel, to serve as a landmark to, and promote the pious aspirations of, mariners passing up and down the river.

[1] The baronial dungeon at Tulliallan Castle—a traditional memory of which is still preserved, though the actual place cannot now be found, being probably choked up with rubbish.

The new castle of Tulliallan, built by Lord Keith, father of the present proprietrix, Lady W. G. Osborne Elphinstone, is situated on the rising ground immediately behind the town of Kincardine, and nearly a mile east by south of the old castle of the Blackadders. It is a large and elegant mansion, built on a combination of the Gothic and Italian styles, and opening on beautiful gardens laid out in the old French manner, like those of Versailles or Fontainebleau. It contains a splendid suite of state-rooms, the walls of which are adorned by many fine family portraits. In the summer and autumn they are thronged by a succession of distinguished guests, the princely hospitalities of Tulliallan having long been renowned. The adjoining grounds, extending to a great distance east of the castle, are laid out in beautiful walks formed out of the old moor of Culross, the termination of which and of the ancient burgh territory is marked by the celebrated "Bore" or boundary stone—a shapeless lump of sandstone, which lies about a quarter of a mile from the house, near the kennels, on the left side of the rivulet which comes down from Tulliallan Water. In the days when the Culross marches formed an annual pageant, it used to be a favourite jest with the people of Kincardine to cover the Bore-stone with *leeks*, in anticipation of the arrival of the Culross magnates, and as a mild pleasantry in reference to the commodity in the growth of which their town enjoyed a pre-eminence.



The Market-place and Cross of Kincardine-on-Forth.

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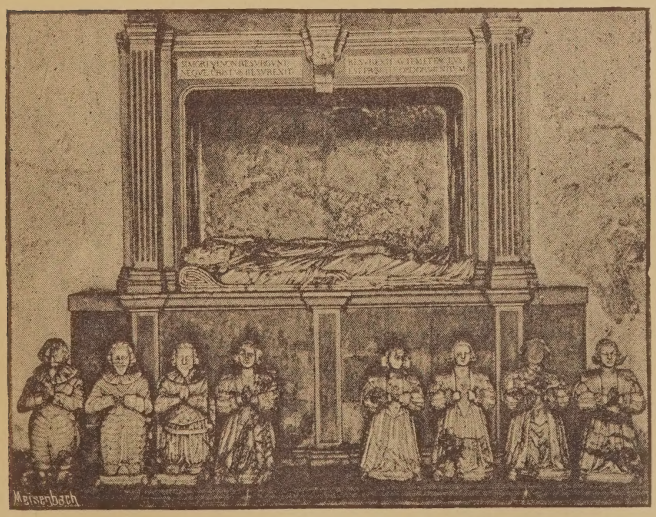

The Tomb of Sir George Bruce in Vault adjoining Abbey Church of Culross.

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In concluding this notice of the monuments of Culross and Tulliallan, the Cross of Kincardine, standing in the open space in the centre of the town behind the Commercial Inn, should not be forgotten. It consists of an elegant Corinthian pillar, nearly 19 feet in height by 4 in circumference, raised on a flight of steps, and seems to have been erected in the seventeenth century by one of the Earls of Kincardine, as it has the arms of the family carved on the capital. It is said that both this Cross of Kincardine and the Cross of Perth were cut from blocks taken from the quarry of Longannet.

CHAPTER XXVI.

A LOCAL CHAPTER.

I HAVE entitled this chapter "a local chapter," as it may so be styled *par excellence*. It is intended to take up, in connection with Culross and Tulliallan, such features, topographical or otherwise, as may in many respects be interesting only to a native, though I hope also that it may not be altogether unworthy the attention of the general reader. I shall first advert to some special localities which have been more or less notable from time immemorial, beginning with the burgh of Culross. At p. 178 of vol. i. a list is quoted of the elders of Culross Church in 1632; as a matter of local interest I annex here in continuation, from the kirk-session minutes, a detailed account of the districts over which they were to preside:—

"13 *November* 1632.

"*Quo die deliberationis*, (the sessione, being frequently convened,) with common consent divided the paroch into quarters and wardes, to the effect those elders within the samen, or newest adjacent to them, myght the better tak note of the maners of the people inhabiting the saids quarters or wardes,

and also therein to consider the necessities of the poor, and all comling strangers servants, and to report after this manner following—viz., first:

"*The Subdivision of the Tounes Quarters.*

"1. From the Parlyhill[1] to the strend,[2] of the people therein Robert Forrest and Patrick Rowane taking on them the charge.

"2. Of the people fra the strend to the end of the little cassie, James Aikine and Andro Gibsone hes taken the oversyght on them.

"3. Fra George Bruce's vittail houses[3] eist unto Blairhall his dwelling house, of the people therein M. Edward Blaw and James Sands hes taken the charge.

"4. Of the families fra Blairhall's place evin to the east end of the toune, John Sandis, elder, Alexr. Eizat, and Andro Brande hes taken the charge.

"5. Of the families fra the cross west throw the south and north streets, even to the Tolbuith, Adam Primrose and Mr Robt. Gourlay taketh the oversyght.

"6. Of the people from the Tolbuith to the west end of the town, Patrick Keir, John Haliday, and Thomas Ezat taketh the charge.

"*The Divisione of Land.*

"Thus—

"1. Over Castell hill, the Blair and pertinents, West Kirk, Kirkton, and the Walles, the laird of Blair and Allane Blaw taketh the oversyght.

"2. Over Langsyd, Birkenhead, Bordy, Lurge, and the Sandes,[4] James Bruce, William Sands, and Patrick Bruce hes taken the charge.

"3. Over Easter and Wester Kincarne, Burnbrey, and their pendicles, John Turcane, Hendrie Cowy, and John Calendar taketh the charge.

[1] See pp. 338 and 381. [2] See pp. 334 and 384. [3] Granaries.
[4] As regards these five properties, see pp. 345, 368, 369, and 379.

"4. Over Balgowny, Bad, Blankyrie, Whythillis, Bath,[1] Wester and Midle Granges, and Overtoune, with the pendicles, John Colvile and Gilbert Gourlay hes taken the charge.

"5. Over Wester and Easter Comries, Easter Grange, Bargatie, Schyrsmill, Blairhall, and Barhill, with the pendicles, Adam Mastertoun and John Gray hes taken the charge.

"6. Over the land and people in the Valefield and his works, Sir John Preston taketh the charge.

"7. Over the new miln, people, and works ther, Blairhall himself hes taken the charge."

As defined in the charter of James VI., already quoted, the boundaries of the royal burgh of Culross are: on the east, the lands of Valleyfield; on the north, the lands of Blairhall and the common moor of Culross; on the west, the lands of Walls and Castlehill; and on the south, the sea. The first of these—*i.e.*, the eastern march—has given rise in modern times to a considerable amount of dubiety and disputation in matters of assessment, regarding the limits of the town and parish. Had the western boundary of the lands of Valleyfield extended in a straight line from north to south, or could it be shown that they did so at any former period, there would have been no difficulty in the case. The fact, however, being that the eastern boundary of the burgh of Culross is marked by a stone situated about twenty yards eastwards of the apex or corner of a triangular piece of ground belonging to Valleyfield, which projects as it were from the main territory of the latter into the body of the Abbey estate, a ques-

[1] See p. 368.

ion arises that is not easy of solution. The stone is close to the point where the highroad from Newmills, descending the hill, meets the coast road coming from the same quarter by Low Valleyfield, and thence proceeds westwards as one highway by the Endowment and St Mungo's into Culross. In allocating the road assessment between burgh and parish, it is still a vexed question to which of these the maintenance is to be assigned of the lower descent of the highroad, passing between the Abbey woods and the gardens of the Low Valleyfield feus, which constitute the triangular piece of ground above-mentioned. According to the charter of Charles II. erecting Valleyfield into a barony, that estate is bounded on the west by "a ditch extending from the sea-shore through the lands of Byrefield and Barhill to the Cross at our town."[1] At the present day this description would be almost unintelligible, did we not keep in mind that at the north-west extremity of the Valleyfield estate, close by Shiresmill and the Bluther Burn, there is a wood that still bears the name of the Couston or Corsetoun Wood; and in the taxed roll of Culross Abbey given up in 1630, the lands of Corsetoun are mentioned as part of the temporality. Corsetoun is simply another form of Crosstoun, and it is quite possible that there may have been here in Roman Catholic times a stone cross which

[1] The actual words of the charter are: "Infra fossam quandam [a certain ditch] jacentem a mare per terras de Byrefield et Barhill usque ad crucem quandam [a certain cross] apud villam nostram ex parte occidentali."

served as a landmark for travellers and pilgrims to Culross Abbey. Now, from Corsetoun Wood, almost in direct line southwards to the sea, crossing the Kirk Brae and passing through the Abbey grounds to the quarry at the Endowment, the remains of an ancient ditch can still be distinctly traced. In a large portion of its extent it still forms the western boundary of the Valleyfield estate, whilst the Abbey lands through which it passes are those which formerly belonged to the properties of Byrefield and Barhill. The present Abbey estate is quite distinct from the ancient domain of Culross Abbey, and has all been formed by the acquisition of successive patches of ground superadded to the original nucleus of territory belonging to the first Lord Kinloss, on which he erected the modern Abbey mansion. The ancient ditch or gully is very discernible on the west border of the Abbey wood, below the Lady's Walk, and disappears in the quarry, the working of which has probably caused the obliteration of the remainder between this point and the sea, so as to make the description of it in the charter of Charles II. a thing of the past. If this view be adopted of the course of the ditch, we must conclude that there was a subsequent acquisition by the proprietors of the Abbey of a portion of territory east of this boundary, which had originally belonged to Valleyfield. If, on the other hand, we refuse to admit the identity of the ditch in question with the one mentioned in Charles II.'s charter, we must conclude that the ravine known as "The Goat," which comes down from the crest

of the hill at the east Abbey lodge, and forms, for a considerable distance below that point, the present boundary between the Culross and Valleyfield estates, is to be regarded, in its entire length from the top of the hill to the sea, as the original western limit of Valleyfield, and that the triangle of territory between "The Goat" and the old east port of Culross were subsequently acquired through purchase or exchange by the Prestons. The solution of the problem seems now almost unattainable, and I daresay my readers will think that the subject has by this time been sufficiently discussed.

The northern boundary of the burgh, as laid down in the charter of James VI., has also given rise to matter of dispute. It is stated to be the lands of Blairhall and the common moor of Culross. The former is readily ascertained—the estate of Blairhall, as the ancient patrimony of the Bruces, having well-defined demarcations. But the precise limits of the common moor, as existing in ancient times, are now hardly to be determined, seeing that a very large portion of it has been reclaimed and converted into arable land. And as the present highroad from Newmills to Kincardine passes for a long distance through the moor, it is a matter of uncertainty whether or not a certain portion of this highway lies within the burgh of Culross—that is to say, to the south of the common moor.

As regards the west and south boundaries of the burgh, there exists no dubiety whatever. The lands of Walls, though they have long ceased to form a

separate lairdship, can still be identified, and still preserve a remembrance for the popular mind in the Walls Cottages or Half-way House on the Kincardine road. The lands of Castlehill or Dunimarle are perfectly well defined, and the western boundary of the burgh is at the present day practically marked out by the narrow road which leads southwards from the west extremity of the Ashes Farm to the West Kirk, and from thence by the rivulet known as the Dean Burn, which flows southward and falls into the sea close by the house of the Dunimarle gardener. The sea as the southern limit leaves, of course, no room for dispute.

It ought here to be observed that the parliamentary boundary of Culross fixed at the period of the passing of the Reform Bill is nearly coincident with that laid down in the charter of erection, except that the eastern and northern limits are strictly defined—first by a line drawn due north from the western extremity of Low Valleyfield to the Kirk Brae, and then by another extending from the latter point due west till it meets at right angles the ancient western boundary of the burgh. These dimensions are only recognised in the matter of parliamentary elections, all other questions that may arise being determined by the limits of the royal charter.

In ancient times Culross was guarded by three gateways or ports, by which the approaches to the town on the north, west, and east sides were secured. They have all long since disappeared; but we have seen from the burgh records that the east port was

in existence down to the middle of the seventeenth century, though probably in such a dilapidated state as to give a colourable excuse to the parties who are reported as having been brought before the magistrates for carrying away the materials. It must have been situated near the Pow, that grassy plat by the sea-shore where of yore was the artificial canal or creek that served the purpose of a harbour. I shall now proceed westwards from this point, taking up in order the various objects of interest as I pass along, but of course omitting all details regarding such as have already been described.

On the north side of the road, nearly opposite the Pow, and picturesquely situated at the foot of a steep bank covered with wood, stands a neat cottage which bears the name of "The Endowment." It is occupied by a lady custodian, who acts as dispenser of a charity which was founded by Sir Robert Preston, on the instigation mainly of his wife, Lady Preston, for behoof of poor persons belonging to the parish of Culross. It provides for a distribution of two shillings and a peck of oatmeal every Monday morning to six men and six women, who are to be elected by his representatives under his will, and enjoy the benefits of the charity during their life or good behaviour. Besides the weekly dole, they receive £1 at Whitsunday and another at Martinmas, and participate, moreover, in the distribution of coals and soup made during the winter from "The Endowment" to a larger number of persons. Of the many—indeed too many—public charities of Culross,

that of "The Endowment" is the chief, its emoluments amounting in value nearly to £12 per annum, so that a keen competition is sure to occur whenever a vacancy takes place by the death of any of the beneficiaries. In one of the rooms of the establishment a Sunday-school is held weekly.

Next, on our left hand is Pond or Preston Cottage, with its tidal pond formed out of the old "Bucket-pat"; and immediately opposite to it on the north side of the road is the roofless ruin of Lord Bruce's Hospital. A little farther on, on the same side, the foundations of the south wall of St Mungo's Chapel will be seen projecting on the footpath, whilst immediately beyond are the house and garden of St Mungo's, and still farther west the Abbey orchard. About midway between St Mungo's and the town of Culross stood the row of small houses known as the Petty Common, against which Lord Dundonald exercised his machinations. In the field directly opposite, on the south side of the road, will be observed the circular stone shaft of an ancient coal-pit, down which, it is said, his lordship's overseer descended on that memorable Sunday morning when he pulled down the props that supported the roofs of the subterranean workings, and caused the sinking of the superincumbent ground and houses. On the rising bank of the orchard to the west stood the first building of Lord Bruce's Hospital, the site having been afterwards excambed for the one at the east port. We are now at the foot of the Newgate—the steep lane or path that leads up to the church, and

which, from the high walls by which it is enclosed, irresistibly reminds one of the narrow and hemmed-in road traversed by John Bunyan's pilgrims. It appears to have been constructed in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Near the east end of the Low Causeway or main street stands the Free Church manse, a neat modern building which possesses some archæological interest, as being erected on the site of a fine old house that formerly belonged to the Bruces of Blairhall, and was known as Lady Blairhall's jointure-house. In days gone by the county families were frequently the owners of houses in the burgh towns, where they occasionally resided for business or social purposes. It resulted from this that a degree of refinement was frequently characteristic of the social circles of these Scottish towns that would scarcely have been expected in the circumstances and surroundings. Thus we find resident in Culross in the seventeenth century the Earl of Kincardine and Mr Dempster of Balbougie; and in the early years of the eighteenth, the Black and White Colonels Erskine.

The streets of the town, as we learn from the burgh records, seem to have been first causewayed about 200 years ago, nearly at the time when the Newgate was first formed. The magistrates took a very simple and ready way of getting this work accomplished by ordering all the burgesses to contribute their quota to it either in work or money. At the present day these things are not managed so easily. The stream known as the Stryne or

Strynd[1] then flowed in an open course from the height above across the main street of Culross to the sea, but is now for the most part covered over.

The Free Church of Culross is a plain small building, situated in a small square or open place known as the Little Sand Haven, in contradistinction to the Sand Haven in front of the Town-house. It would appear from this appellation that in former times there had been an open space between the Little Sand Haven and the sea, though it is now occupied by houses and gardens.

There are four principal streets or *causeys* in Culross. These are the *Laigh* or Low Causeway or Causey, the Middle Causey, the Back Causey, and the Little Causey. The first of these is the main street, along which we have been journeying, passing through the Little Sand Haven, and crossing Culross from east to west. The other three converge at the Cross, from which the Little Causey descends to the Little Sand Haven by the end of the Free Church. The Middle Causey ascends from the Low Causey a little to the west of the Red Lion Inn on the opposite side of the street, and the Back Causey joins the main street or Low Causeway a little more westward still, at the east end of the great Sand Haven, near the Town-house.

The last-named building has already been described in detail. The original main street of the town proceeds westward from this point, passing the court-

[1] A Teutonic or Scandinavian word, having the same etymology as the English "strain."

yard of the Colonel's Close with its old houses, and leaving on the right an opening leading up to Bessie Bar's Well. Following the narrow street, we emerge on the West Green, in front of which and the Sand Haven are the harbour and pier of Culross, such as they are, but which are now almost solely confined to the accommodation of small boats. Changed, indeed, is the state of matters from the palmy days of the commercial prosperity of Culross, when, we are informed, as many as 170 vessels might sometimes be seen in the adjoining roads, waiting for their cargoes of coal and salt. In modern times, indeed, a large fleet of vessels may occasionally be seen riding at anchor in the same quarter, but these have no concern with Culross, and are chiefly engaged in conveying prop-wood from Sweden and Norway to the port of Grangemouth, for the supply of the coal-pits in the neighbourhood.

A wooden pier connects the shore with the old stone pier, at the extremity of which a magnificent view of Culross is obtained, though a more perfect one is gained by rowing a little distance farther into the bay. To the left of the spectator, at the pier end, are the Blue Boulder-stone and the Ailie Rocks; and almost in a direct line to his right, and opposite to Dunimarle, is the circle of stones that marks the site of Sir George Bruce's famous moat.

Abutting on the West Green are the mansion and grounds of Balgownie House; and here stood formerly the hospital founded by the younger George Bruce of Carnock for the maintenance of twelve

poor widows. The house has long since disappeared, and the bequest having been made previous to the disjunction from Culross and annexation to Tulliallan of a portion of the former parish, the latter, on this event taking place, was made a participator to a corresponding extent in George Bruce's bounty, two-thirds of the recipients being selected from Culross, and the remainder from Tulliallan. The benefaction is known as "The Widows' Meal," and, in accordance with its terms, is paid in kind, two bolls of oatmeal being given yearly to each widow, who, moreover, receives a small sum of money in lieu of the former house accommodation.

The lane ascending from the shore at Balgownie Stables to the West Kirk road bears the appellation of the Slate Loan, probably from the grey laminated sandstone which crops out through a great part of its course having formerly been used for slating. The locality at the foot of this lane, where some houses formerly stood, used to be known as the "West Port." The field immediately to the west, extending to the Dean Burn, which forms the western limit of the burgh, has from time immemorial been known as the Playfield. Here, as I have already indicated, there is good reason to believe that the mysteries and miracle-plays of medieval times were performed in the open air in the days of the old *régime* of Culross Abbey.

If we ascend the glen of the Dean Burn, we shall, after some scrambling, find ourselves at the West Kirk, on the old road leading by it through the

moor to Kincardine. The narrow boundary-road of the burgh, leading north from it at this point, conducts us to the Ashes Farm, after leaving on our right the old Cisterns Park, with its spring or fountain-head, known as the Monks' Well, from which the mansion-house of Culross Abbey is supplied with water. Here we are on the modern turnpike road leading from Kincardine to Newmills, which for about half a mile eastwards may be said to constitute the northern limit of the burgh territory. Though the land is all cultivated now in this neighbourhood, it still retains some traces of the moor from which it has been reclaimed. Its original boundaries here cannot be defined, but it extended at least as far north as the farm of Gallow Rig or Gallows Ridge, at the east of which, abutting on Balgownie Wood, is the farm of the Muirs. At Gallow Rig in olden times the gibbet belonging to the Abbey domain seems to have stood, and the road leading up to it in a direct line from Culross, about a mile distant, bears still the name of the "Gallows Loan."

Descending the Gallows Loan towards Culross, we arrive at the crest of the Barhill, from which, in a clear day, the magnificent prospect already described is obtained.[1] The field on our right is called the Gaigie, from the property to which it formerly belonged. On our left is a narrow lane which led up to the house of Barhill,—that little lairdship of the Browns, from whose family the author of 'The Crook in the Lot' selected his wife. Proceeding

[1] See pp. 19, 20 of vol. i.

down the hill, we reach the point where the road branches off from Culross to Shiresmill and the railway station at East Grange. Passing eastwards along this road, leaving on our right the Abbey rookery and park, with the Abbey mansion below, and crossing the corner where the road turns northward to Shiresmill, we continue along the disused grassy road, which conducts us past the old Abbey lodge and original entrance to the demesne. A little to the east of this the road descends, and at last joins the modern highroad to Newmills near the farm of Woodhead. This grass-grown roadway is known as the Kirk Brae, and doubtless derives its name, not from the present Abbey Church of Culross, but from the old West Kirk, which, before the Reformation, served as the parish church, and to which the Kirk Brae would form the approach from the east.

To complete the description of Culross within the burgh: Retracing our steps up the Kirk Brae to the foot of the Gallows Loan, we turn southwards to the left, and, opposite the west Abbey lodge, pass on our right the opening of the road leading to the West Kirk, between the Barcrook field on its north and the Gutterflat on its south side. Continuing the descent, and leaving on our right the lodge entrance to the mansion of the Park, we reach the Parlyhill, or space on the top of the hill in front of the churchyard gate, the favourite place for the Sunday lounge or "crack" before the morning and afternoon services,—a practice reprobated so severely in many a

deliverance of the kirk-session. Leaving the church, manse, and ruins of the monastery on our right, we reach, a little lower down, the point where the Newgate diverges, and then, after descending for about 300 yards a very steep causeway, each side of which used in former times to be bordered with houses, the sites of which are now all included in the grounds of the Park, we reach the "Lockit Well" and the head of the Tanhouse Brae. A road diverges in a north-west direction at this point, leading round the Park grounds to the West Kirk highway. A corner in this, forming a grassy plateau, overlooks and commands a splendid view of the town of Culross. It is known as the Sessions Green, being probably so called from having been at one time the property of the kirk-session, who owned lands in this neighbourhood, including the Gutterflat. Another pendicle in that quarter, which I have not been able to identify, bore the name of the Psaltercroft—probably from its produce having been appropriated in ancient times to the maintenance of the music in the choir of the Abbey Church. A similar designation was long current in connection with the Abbey Church of Dunfermline, where the space enclosed within the ruins of the ancient choir, which is now occupied by the New Abbey Church, was known as the Psalter Churchyard.

From the Sessions Green a narrow path leads along the crest of what may be termed the "Hanging Gardens of Culross," seeing that they are supported by stone terraces along the high bank that

rises behind the houses on the Sand Haven and the West Green. They form a marked feature in the view of Culross from the water, as already mentioned.

Returning to the Tanhouse Brae, another steep descent conducts us to the Cross and open place by which it is surrounded. The Middle and Back Causeways open into it on the west side, and the Little Causeway on the south. At the north-west angle is the curious edifice known as the Study, and already described. About half-way down the Middle Causeway stands the Dundonald Arms Inn, a very comfortable little hostelry, famous for its snug, well-appointed dinners at ordinations, ploughing-matches, and suchlike occasions. On the other side of the street is the fine old house traditionally said to have been occupied by Bishop Leighton on his diocesan visits to Culross. The garden behind it descends to and opens on the main street or Low Causeway.

The roads through the parishes of Culross and Tulliallan partook in old times, as we are informed by the authors of the Old Statistical Account, of the same qualities that distinguished British roads generally previous to the introduction of mail-coaches and the systematic improvements of Macadam,—that is to say, they were execrable as regarded the transit of all kinds of wheeled vehicles, though they might be practicable enough, under most circumstances, for pedestrians and horsemen.

The present broad and commodious highway, which now extends between Newmills and Kincar-

dine, was laid out in the first years of this century, when such general improvements in roadmaking had taken place all over the island. Part of it forms the high or upper road to Culross; but previous to its construction, the chief highway to Culross lay along the shore, and was then, as till very recently it was in many places, most inconveniently and dangerously narrow. The fine modern bridge that now spans the Bluther Burn at Newmills was erected at the time the new road was formed. The picturesque old bridge that crosses it a little higher up is, as it now stands, sufficiently narrow, affording no more space than would just allow passage for one horse and cart. In times more remote, it would seem to have been narrower still, as, on examining the structure from below, there has evidently been a second arch joined on to the first, so as to give a greater breadth of roadway. As originally constructed, it would at most admit only of being crossed by a single horseman. As its masonry bears a somewhat close resemblance to that of Culross monastery, it may not be altogether an unfounded conjecture that it was built by Malcolm, Earl of Fife, for the convenience of persons travelling to or from the religious house which he had founded.

From old Newmill bridge one road led by the shore to Culross, and another by Valleyfield House, through Culross moor, to Clackmannan. What precise direction the latter followed after leaving the bridge, I cannot take upon me to determine; but after running westwards nearly in the same line

with the present upper road to Culross (its course being indeed distinctly traceable through the wood on the north side), it seems to have turned northwards, and then, passing close to the mansion of Valleyfield, and behind the farm of Woodhead, to have proceeded along the declivity (where its course may still be followed) across Blairhall bank, and thence, by the present farm of Blairhall Mains, to the road running north in continuation of the Gallows Loan. Crossing this road, its course is still very manifest in the old disused road which leads from this point into Tulliallan woods behind Righead. It continued in this way straight on through the moor to Clackmannan, and seems to have been a leading artery of communication between the east and west.

Another old road ascended the face of the hill from the western end of Low Valleyfield, and may still be traced on the side of the bank. After the new road leading down from the finger-post to the Endowment had been formed, the latter, in consequence of its having been given in exchange for the older one, received the designation of the *Swap Road*—a name which is not yet altogether forgotten. This old road seems to have continued in an easterly direction, pretty nearly on the same line with the present highroad (as may still be traced), till it joined the old highway, already mentioned, leading to old Newmill bridge.

I have frequently had occasion to refer to the old road leading through the moor by the West Kirk to Kincardine. It still affords a most delightful walk

in dry weather, skirting as it does the south border of Tulliallan wood, and ever redolent of the fragrance of the Scotch firs. There is rich velvety turf for the feet; and the sides of the road, as well as the adjoining wood, are verdant with blaeberry plants. This portion of Tulliallan forest was long the property of Sir James Gibson-Craig (formerly James Gibson, Esq. of Ingliston), the well-known Liberal representative of the Stirling Burghs, who obtained a feu-grant of it from the burgh of Culross, it being the last portion of Culross moor that was so disponed. He seems merely to have procured it to strengthen his influence in the burgh, as he never bestowed the least attention on his acquisition, though he paid regularly every year the feu-duty of £50, which still forms an important item in the town's revenues. After his death, it was purchased by the Tulliallan family, with whose estate it is now incorporated.

Delightful is this woodland road, either

> "When purple morning starts the hare,"

or again,

> "When e'enin', sinking in the west,
> The curtain draws of nature's rest;"

and no more appropriate locality could have been selected by the heroine of Burns's charming song for meeting her swain at break or close of day. It emerges at last on the turnpike road a little to the east of Bordie, and then continues on the opposite side of the way to Kincardine, passing very close both to the Standard Stone and the Pulpit, and likewise not far from Tulliallan Castle.

An interesting road in the parish of Tulliallan is the "Drove Road," which diverges from the highway leading north from Kincardine a little to the south of the hamlet of Dalquhamy, and passing first in an easterly and then in a northern direction, emerges at last on the great north road leading from Dunfermline to Alloa. And the last of these byways to which I shall refer is that very beautiful one which passes behind the woods of Brankston Grange, skirting nearly the northern boundary of Culross parish, and having its western termination at the Hareshaw Mill in the parish of Clackmannan, and its eastern in the parish of Saline, joining there the road which runs south and north between the villages of Saline and Comrie.

The principal monuments in Culross and Tulliallan have already been described. Of those which possess for the most part only a local interest, may be mentioned first the fragment of old building at Bordie on the crest of the hill overlooking Kincardine and the Forth, and commanding a magnificent view. With many others I had been accustomed to regard this as the veritable ruin of the old family-mansion of the Bruces of Bordie; and I was confirmed in this impression on learning that the lintel of one of the windows, now covered by a cowshed, bears the initials J. O. B. I am credibly informed, however, that the remnant in question is in reality only an abortion, being an edifice commenced but left unfinished by the last proprietor of the estate before it was purchased by the Dundases of Blair, and incorporated with that pro-

perty. There had doubtless existed at one time an old mansion on this site, but it seems to have disappeared. The old garden with its wall is very distinctly marked, though it is now turned into a corn-field.

To the east of Bordie, on the slope extending between the Tulliallan woods and the sea-shore, there used to be two small properties occasionally referred to in the burgh and kirk-session records, and bearing the names respectively of Birkenhead and Langside. Of the former of these there is still one of the outhouses remaining, whilst a small house situated a little to the north-east of Blair Castle Mains represents the latter. In the same line with these, but to the west of Bordie, was the ancient though small lairdship of Lurg, the memory of which is still preserved in the house occupied by the Sands gamekeeper.

North from Bordie, in Tulliallan forest, is the old house of Keir, which deserves some notice as the ancient residence of the Browns of Keir, formerly influential heritors in the parish of Culross, and relations of the Browns of Barhill. Though much sunk now in point of *status*, it bears still evident traces in its surroundings of former respectability and position. Lord Keith lived here for a time whilst the present castle of Tulliallan was in process of erection.

An old mansion that has disappeared was that of the old house of Balgownie, which in days gone by was situated, not near the town of Culross like the present one, but fully two miles off in the hollow at the foot of the hill, a few hundred yards to the west of the farm of Balgownie Mains. The Erskines of

Balgownie, cadets of the Mar family, were among the most influential in the parish of Culross. Their house is said to have corresponded fully with their position, but it has now entirely disappeared. An old lady, long since deceased, informed my old friend the Rev. William Stephen, that she remembered seeing the last remains of the old house of Balgownie removed (in accordance with the spirit of vandalism that was so rampant a hundred years ago) to supply materials for building the present mansion of Balgownie at the west end of Culross; and here I ought not to omit mention of Balgownie wood, an extensive tract of forest situated a little to the south-east of Balgownie Mains. It was long annually felled as coppice, and was famous for its supplies of bark, the stripping of which furnished occupation to a large number of persons, as well natives as strangers. Reference is made to this traffic in the burgh records as early as 1654: latterly the wood was *exploité* on so great a scale that very little of the old timber was left. For many years it has been left nearly undisturbed, but has scarcely yet recovered the effect of the old devastations.

Proceeding now to the sea-shore at the south-east extremity of the parish, I would note, in passing, a large white house known as "Low Valleyfield" *par excellence*, being the largest house in the straggling village of that name, and forming a prominent object from the water. The circumstance of my having been born in it and spent there the first two years of my life, will form an excuse for this reference; and

I now pass on to another dwelling of smaller dimensions westward along the shore, which preserves for me reminiscences, and these much more distinct than the house of Low Valleyfield. It was the place to which we were sent on our daily expeditions in the summer-time, for the purpose of an immersion in the "briny." It may here be remarked that Culross Bay, though not presenting the most agreeable beach for bathing in the world, is yet, from its shallowness and uniformity of level, remarkably safe, and there is no danger of wandering too rapidly out of one's depth, or being suddenly and unexpectedly overwhelmed by the advancing waves. The water is none of the saltest or clearest, being both largely charged with alluvium and with the particles of peat-moss which at one time was discharged in great quantities into the Forth at Blair Drummond, above Stirling. This was in consequence of the operations adopted for clearing away the moss in that quarter from the subjacent soil, and discharging it into the river, so as to effect a reclamation of many acres of rich arable soil. The idea was an ingenious one, and attended with a great measure of success, but proved in its execution most detrimental to the general amenity of the banks of the river, and more especially the estuary between Kincardine and Queensferry. Above all, the shores of Culross Bay were sadly polluted, being lined in many places with thick layers of black moss or mud, over which the advancing tide rolled in waves of a deep inky hue. The nuisance, in consequence of being stopped or

abated at its fountain-head, has of late years in a great measure ceased, though it will take a long period yet to efface its effects. Besides the moss, which may be regarded as an accidental and temporary pollution, the alluvial sludge which deposits itself on the soil of the bay is of a more enduring character; and I well remember that when, as frequently happened, we had to wade in for a considerable distance to obtain a dip, it was necessary to cleanse ourselves of the unctuous slime in a bucket of fresh water.

But I must return again to the little cottage, with its mistress, Mrs Cumming, or as she was commonly known, in accordance with the old Scottish fashion which retains for a matron her maiden name, by her latter designation of Becky Hoy. Indeed I never knew her by any other. Dear old Becky! she was emphatically a "canty carline," and a fine specimen of the hearty and intelligent old Scotchwoman. She had originally come from the neighbourhood of Shiresmill, her mother having rented the farm of Bargatie, at Bargatie Brae, a little to the north of that hamlet. She herself was laundry-maid in the service of Sir Charles Preston of Valleyfield, the elder brother of Sir Robert. After her marriage she settled with her husband on the feu in Low Valleyfield; and there she continued to reside for upwards of sixty years, till her death, which did not take place till she had reached the verge of ninety. When I last saw her she was eighty-seven, and retained all her faculties unimpaired, with the exception of hearing. Her house was a very picture of neatness and comfort.

She has given a name to the steep path leading up by her garden to the highroad on the braes above, which will doubtless perpetuate her memory in this quarter under the appellation of "Becky's Brae."

Immediately adjoining Becky's feu on the west, was another belonging to a very different character, a half-witted man named Will Harrower, who was generally known as Laird Harrower, Laird Will, or with dignified brevity, "The Laird." The Laird's house was at one time in a sad state of dilapidation, the roof being so open to the skies that he used to declare that he was the only man in the parish who could lie in his bed and see the moon and stars. He has long since been gathered to his fathers.

I shall not say anything more about the Low Valleyfield folks, beyond that they have always borne the reputation of a special race of people, differing in many respects from the inhabitants of Culross. A sort of traditional *animus* on the part of the latter town against her eastern neighbour would seem almost still to exist, coming down from the days when Sir George Preston got Valleyfield erected into a burgh of barony, and arrogated the right of communicating to the burgesses a share in the monopoly of girdlemaking.

As I am now on the subject of "characters," I may here mention the Brothers Reid in the Back Causeway of Culross, who carried on a miscellaneous business in money-lending, market-gardening, hair-cutting, bird-stuffing, and dealing in old furniture and antiquities. Their house was a perfect "Old Curiosity

Shop," and suggested irresistibly the idea of a wizard's mansion or the abode of a dealer in occult arts. In the third of the above vocations—the mowing of polls—it was my fortune occasionally to be admitted within the precincts, when myself, brothers, and sisters used to be despatched periodically from Inzievar[1] to Culross for the purpose of getting our heads trimmed. A queer job, I remember, they made of them, the "cut" being very much of the charity-school kind, or what used to be known as the "cog cut"—*i.e.*, the primitive style of hair-cutting, which was exercised by placing a "cog" or wooden bowl on the head and cutting the hair all round. I remember the horror expressed by an Edinburgh hair-dresser on witnessing the result of Mr Reid's operations on my head.

But I must not be too hard on "The Barber," as he used to be known in our household, for I well

[1] I have already (p. 75) referred to this locality as the scene of Mrs Boston's singular dream. At that period Inzievar, with the other estates belonging to the Earls of Kincardine, had passed into the hands of Colonel John Erskine of Carnock, by whose son it was, in 1746, conveyed to a Mr Harrower, a brewer and shipowner in Torryburn, in the possession of whose family it continued for upwards of eighty years. Previous to its acquisition by the Bruces it had been the property of the Blackadders, relations probably of the Tulliallan lairds of that name. They had resided here in an old castle, which was in existence as a ruin till about 1780, when it was demolished and its stones employed in the building of the present house of Inzievar, or as it is now termed, "Fernwoodlee," the property of A. V. Smith Sligo, Esq. My own interest in the place consists in its having belonged to my father for nearly twenty years, and being thus closely entwined with all my early associations. The ancient name of Inzievar has now been transferred to Mr Smith Sligo's residence, which occupies the site of the old house of Oakley or Annefield, on the estate of that name.

remember what enjoyment we derived from these visits to his house, which we used to regard as glorious "outings." Well do I remember the dimly lighted, grimy chamber, with its old-fashioned pulpit-like chimney, and the old pictures, clubs, and relics of antiquity by which it was surrounded. And the delightful room up-stairs, filled with stuffed animals and other curiosities, reached by a broken old ladder, and where we were only admitted occasionally, must not be forgotten. One specialty that it contained was a hand-organ, whilom the property of Mrs Barbara Maclean, the minister's wife of Dunfermline, the sweet sounds evolved from which appeared to us the music of the spheres. And a very intelligent man to boot was Mr Reid, who had a great turn for natural history and antiquities, and could discourse in very interesting fashion on the various articles of the collections he had made. There were two brothers who lived together, but it is only of one of them that I have a special recollection. Their museum of curiosities was sold and dispersed after their death.

One more "character," belonging to a much higher social sphere, though originally he had not belonged to one much more exalted, should not be omitted in treating of the notables of Culross and Tulliallan. I refer to the well-known Sir James Wylie, so celebrated as the favourite surgeon of the Emperor Alexander I. of Russia, grand-uncle of the present Czar. The story of his life is rather piquant, and may thus be told :—

Sir James Wylie was a native of Kincardine-on-Forth, in the parish of Tulliallan, and was the son of a carrier or carter. His father is said to have been of a rough intractable nature, akin to his occupation, whilst his mother was a woman of much higher intelligence and aspiration. There was a large family of sons, some of whom, inasmuch as they took after him, the father declared to be *his;* whilst he made over to his wife, as her special offspring, those who had "a soul above buttons," and desired to raise themselves to a higher station. It was said the mother had sometimes to smuggle these out of the house by the window in order that they might attend school. One of them—James—managed to procure a university education, and having qualified himself as a surgeon, went out in that capacity on board a ship bound for St Petersburg. It anchored at Cronstadt in the end of the last century, just when the vagaries of the Imperial madman Paul were causing his Ministers the utmost trouble and vexation. Among other lunatic whims, it is said that Paul had persuaded himself that a bee had found its way into his ear. His courtiers vainly endeavoured to demonstrate to him the baselessness of his belief, but only rendered him more obstinate in maintaining it. At last they hit on the bright idea of suggesting to him a consultation with the young Scotch surgeon who was in the ship that had just arrived at Cronstadt. Paul readily acceded to the notion, and young Wylie was sent for, being doubtless well tutored as to his patient on the way. Having arrived at Court, and

been presented to Paul, he declared, on examining the ear, that there was really a bee inside, but that he would soon effect its removal. He made some manipulations about the imperial head, exclaimed he had caught the creature, and then, turning to Paul, asked if he did not now feel himself rid of the pest. The Emperor answered that it was really so; and from that day the surgeon's position at Court was assured. Such, at least, is the story, though I do not vouch for its accuracy. After the death of Paul and accession of Alexander, Mr Wylie's fame and fortune rapidly advanced, the Emperor treating him as a personal friend, and it is said that Wylie had in his keeping many important secrets of the Romanoff family. He accompanied Alexander on his expedition after joining the coalition of sovereigns against Napoleon, and was present at the battle of Leipsic. On this occasion he had the honour of amputating the legs of General Moreau, who had joined his fortunes to those of the Allied sovereigns, but did not now survive the decisive victory which crushed the strength of imperial France, already greatly weakened by the disastrous Russian expedition. On the visit of the Allied sovereigns to Great Britain in 1814, Mr Wylie accompanied his imperial master, and at Alexander's request had the rank of a baronet of the United Kingdom conferred on him by the Prince Regent.

Sir James Wylie does not seem to have ever revisited his native town of Kincardine, where he had a multitude of relations. He is said not to have re-

garded them with particular favour; but his mother, Mrs Wylie, paid a visit to her son at St Petersburg, where she seems to have received much kindness and attention. On her return home, she astonished greatly the good folks of Tulliallan by appearing in church with an Indian shawl and a pair of gold spectacles, with which she had been presented by her dutiful son.

Sir James Wylie died at the commencement of the Crimean war, and bequeathed by will all his property to the Emperor. The bulk of this was situated in Russia; but some years before his death he had purchased stock in the British funds to the amount of £70,000—for the purpose, it is said, of purchasing an estate. His Scotch relatives, whom he had thus unceremoniously left out in the cold, maintained that the general bequest to the Czar did not carry this particular sum of money; and in this contention they were, after prosecuting a suit in Chancery, successful. There were no surviving brothers or sisters of Sir James; but there was a host of nephews and nieces, all in respectable positions in life, among whom the money was divided.

A chapter like the present may be appropriately concluded by a comparison between the ancient and modern localities of the parishes, so as to ascertain how many of the former have been preserved or can now be identified.

I have already said that the greater part of the land in the parish of Culross is at the present day owned by the descendants of Sir George Bruce—

though merely by an accidental concourse of circumstances. The only estate which has never been purchased or transferred since the Reformation, and is still enjoyed by the representatives of the family which have held it for upwards of 300 years, is that of Valleyfield, belonging to Mr Campbell Preston.

The lands of West Grange, excluding those of Bath and Divelly, which have only been incorporated with it in modern times, belonged, like the rest of the parish of Culross, to the Abbey domain, and were in the end of the sixteenth century in the hands of a feuar named Andrew Stewart. A decree is registered against him in the Burgh Court of Culross for payment of a quantity of malt purchased by him from the elder Robert Bruce of Blairhall, and his wife, Margaret Hamilton, a natural daughter of the last Roman Catholic Archbishop of St Andrews. It afterwards passed into the hands successively of Gilbert Gourlay, George Henderson, and John Malcolm. About the middle of the last century it was purchased by Mr Dalgleish, the ancestor of the present proprietor, whose father, James Dalgleish, Esq., added to the family property the estate of Balgownie, which he purchased from Captain Cunningham, the representative of the old proprietors, the Erskines. A small portion of the original estate, with the family mansion, at the west extremity of Culross, was retained by Captain Cunningham, and still belongs to his family.

The estates of Middle Grange and East Grange —deriving their titles, like West Grange, from their having been the home farms attached to Culross

monastery — are now respectively the property of Laurence Johnston, Esq. of Sands, and the Carron Company. Middle Grange was the earliest property acquired in the parish of Culross by Mr Johnston's family, into whose ownership it came about 1730. They afterwards acquired the properties of the Burrowin, Whitehills, Monté Claret, and the Ashes, in the parish of Culross; and in the parish of Tulliallan the estate of Sands, which has since been their principal seat. East Grange, from at least the end of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, belonged to a family of the name of Masterton; afterwards it passed to Mr Murray; and latterly to Captain Kerr, from whose representatives it was purchased by the Carron Company a few years ago.

Included in West Grange is the property of Bath, which seems at one time to have belonged to the Mastertons of East Grange, who were also proprietors of the farm of Divelly. They appear to be the same as the Mastertons of Parkmill, who take their name from the village of Masterton, to the south-east of Dunfermline, and one of whom is said to have been the architect of Dunfermline Abbey. There were formerly two Baths, Easter and Wester; and the former of these used also to bear the designation of Chapel Bath or The Chapel. From a somewhat singular congeries of names in this quarter, it has been fancifully conjectured, and even gravely asserted, that some former laird in this quarter, having travelled on the Continent, bestowed Italian names on those bleak localities, which experienced the usual fate in such cases of

being strangely corrupted in the vernacular. Thus Monté Claret and Divelly were supposed to be corruptions of *Monte Claro* and *Della Villa;* whilst Bath, or Chapel Bath, implied the existence in former days of a holy well or healing spring. All these surmises are, I believe, quite erroneous, as I shall endeavour to show in the next chapter.

The estate of Valleyfield proper, as originally possessed by the Prestons, is but of small extent, and does not even bulk largely along with the outlying farms of Overton and Muirside, which were added to the family possessions by Brigadier-General Preston in the last century. When held by Sir Robert Preston, a princely lairdship was connected with the estate, inasmuch as he had become by purchase the owner of Culross Abbey and the lands of Blairhall, the ancient patrimony of the Bruces. But all the territory that Sir Robert held in his own right, unfettered by an entail, he bequeathed, as already mentioned, to the Elgin family.

Blairhall has always been a large property, and at one time had been the chief one in the parish. It has been the cradle of the Broomhall family, which is descended from Sir George Bruce, second son of Edward Bruce of Blairhall, and now unites in itself the titles of Elgin and Kincardine, created respectively in favour of Sir George's nephew and grandson. The old mansion has long since disappeared; but a relic of the Bruces still remains in a mutilated heraldic fragment, surmounting what seems to have been the entrance to the old garden or courtyard.

Though much defaced, it seems closely allied to the figures which stand at the entrance of Kinross House, which was built by the celebrated Sir William Bruce, the architect of Holyrood House, and a cadet of the Blairhall family.

The Blairhall estate includes the hamlet and mill of Shiresmill, with the farms of Duckdub (now Blairhall Mains), Glourowrum (now New Farm), and Rennies Walls—the latter being partly situated in the parish of Torryburn and county of Fife. It also comprised the Newmills, and right of thirlage exercised by the same over Culross,—though these were by General Preston recovered for Valleyfield, to which they would seem naturally to belong. After passing into the hands of the Stewarts—one of whom, a brother of the first Earl of Bute, married Mary Bruce, the heiress of the property—it again was transferred into those of the Ronaldson-Dicksons, whose fortunes, in the succeeding generation, rapidly declined, and Sir Robert Preston became the purchaser of the domain. As if jealous of the old pre-eminence of the former possessors, he subjected the house, by demolishing the eastern wing, to a contumelious treatment, similar to what he had practised on Culross Abbey.

The "Kingdom of Fife" has long been noted for the multitude of small properties or lairdships which it contains in comparison with the other counties of Scotland. The same characteristic used to belong to the parish of Culross, but in modern times it has almost completely disappeared. The wonder is how

all these petty heritors could have contrived to exist and maintain their position as county gentry on the produce of their little domains. Certainly their requirements must have been moderate, and they must have practised an almost Roman simplicity in their mode of life. The only really large properties were Blairhall and Balgownie—Valleyfield, though claiming the dignity of a barony, being but of small territorial extent. West Grange has been increased by the addition of Bath and Divelly; Comrie by the union of two properties, known respectively as Easter and Wester Comrie—the former belonging in the seventeenth century to John Gray—the latter to John Colville, the son of the Commendator. East Grange seems to have been always of the same extent as at present. Middle Grange, the Burrowin, the Ashes, and part of Barhill, have all accrued to Sands; whilst Langside, Birkenhead, and Bordie, stretching continuously from east to west, beginning at the modern Blair Mains, are now all included in the estate of Blair Castle.

The property of Sands, which for nearly a century and a half has belonged to the Johnston family, lies now chiefly in the parish of Tulliallan, but was formerly entirely in that of Culross, and seems to have given name to a clan, which, both as lairds and ordinary individuals, were in bygone days very numerous around and in Culross. In the end of the sixteenth century we find a "Thomas Sands, portioner of that Ilk";[1] and there also stand recorded William Sands,

[1] Of the same place—the common old-fashioned way of expressing

laird of Birkenhead, John Sands of Langside, and John Sands of Overton, besides many other individuals bearing the name, of lower degree. Some time apparently in the early part of the seventeenth century the estate of Sands came into the hands of a family of the name of Wilson, who held it for nearly a hundred years along with the lands of Kirkton—so called from its proximity to the West Kirk of Culross. The original acquirer of the property is said to have been private secretary to Anne of Denmark, queen of James VI. A descendant of his, doubtless, is a certain "George Wilson of Sands," who appears in the burgh records in the early years of last century as one of the bailies of Culross.

The portion of Sands in the parish of Culross comprises a narrow strip extending along the sea-shore to the westward of Blair quarry, and known in former times as Kelliwood, or Sands Kelliwood. Altogether the property, though cumulatively large, is very much scattered. Its latest acquisition was the little lairdship of Lurg, lying near the mansion-house of Sands, and about the last of the ancient holdings to merge in the larger estates. The house of Lurg, as already mentioned, is now occupied by the Sands gamekeeper.

The large domain of Tulliallan, though perfectly compact and continuous, is nevertheless an agglomeration of smaller territories. The barony of that

the fact of the name of the proprietor and his estate being the same. My readers will remember Sir Walter Scott's "Sir Robert Redgauntlet of that Ilk."

name, comprising almost exclusively the whole of the ancient parish, with the adjoining estate of Kincardine, which gave a designation to the Earls bearing that title, was acquired in the beginning of last century by the Black Colonel Erskine, and sold in the beginning of the present one by his descendant, Mr Erskine of Cardross, to Admiral Lord Keith. His lordship purchased likewise, about the same time, the western half of the Culross estate, when that was sold for behoof of Lord Dundonald's creditors. Subsequently Baroness Keith, his eldest daughter and successor, purchased from Miss Primrose her ancestral lands of Burnbrae, adjoining the town of Kincardine, which thus passed from the name with which they had been connected since the days of James VI.

To the Tulliallan estate belongs almost the whole of the moor of Culross, the ancient patrimony of the burgh, but which is now almost all planted, and generally known by the name of the Tulliallan Woods, or Tulliallan Forest. It is intersected by many delightful paths, the old highways across the moor, and contains within its precincts two extensive sheets of water—the Peffermill dam on its northern, and the Moor dam or Tulliallan Water at its western extremity. The ground at the eastern extremity, adjoining the farm of Kirkton, used to be occupied by a third sheet of water, known as the Kirkton dam, which was in existence till at least the end of the last century. The site is now, like the rest of the moor, planted with trees.

CHAPTER XXVII.

AN ETYMOLOGICAL AND CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

AS a pendant to the history of Culross and Tullialan, it seems desirable to present an analysis of the names of the various localities in the district. This branch of etymology has in recent years attracted great and constantly increasing attention, from the light which it throws on the nationality and origin of the races by which, in the course of ages, a country has been settled or conquered. It is a matter, indeed, regarding the details of which great diversity of opinion necessarily exists, in consequence both of the corruptions which gradually take place in popular nomenclature, and the possibility of forming in individual cases so many different and equally specious conclusions. All that can be done by the inquirer is to proceed with the utmost caution, to discard as far as possible all fanciful or imaginary promptings, and to keep steadily in view the principles of sound reasoning and common-sense.

As already indicated, the inhabitants of the northern banks of the Forth, including those of the

Culross and Tulliallan districts, belonged to that division of the ancient Caledonians known as the Northern Picts. It has been held that these tribes spoke a mixed language—that is to say, their speech was partly Gaelic and partly Cymric, according as these two great branches of the Celtic race were more or less predominant in particular localities. According to this theory, the older or Gaelic branch ultimately overshadowed in Scotland the younger or Cymric; and this consummation has been attributed in great measure to the immigration of the Gaelic-speaking Scots from Ireland in the beginning of the sixth century, and their subsequent conquest and absorption of the Picts. The name of the latter as a nationality thereupon disappeared altogether from history, and the Scots became both the eponymic and governing representatives of Caledonia or North Britain.

There can be little doubt, however, that in the case both of the Northern and the Southern Picts the language spoken by them was Gaelic, though Welsh or Cymric may have been the tongue of the British kingdom of Strathclyde, which comprised a great part of the Western Lowlands, extending from Dumbarton on the Firth of Clyde, to the Solway and across that estuary to the southern border of Cumberland. Even there the Cymric element cannot have taken any firm hold, and may only have been an adventitious and transitory characteristic arising from the circumstance of the district being settled by tribes of Welsh colonists. This position

is strongly supported by the fact, that through the whole of the western counties which composed the kingdom of Strathclyde, with the exception perhaps of Dumfriesshire, the names of places in the vast majority of instances exhibit unmistakably a Gaelic origin. Indeed through the whole of Scotland Gaelic seems to have been the aboriginal language; and the Scottish immigrants from Ireland introduced no foreign tongue into Caledonia, whose inhabitants, the so-called Picts, belonged essentially in all respects to the same Celtic family as the new settlers.

Up to at least the days of Malcolm Canmore, the vernacular speech of Scotland in the districts north of the Forth, and probably also in the Western Lowlands, was Gaelic, though it is not unlikely that the last-named region, which coincided with the ancient British kingdom of Strathclyde, retained still a strong infusion in its dialect of Cymric or Welsh. In Berwickshire and the Lothians, on the other hand, the original Celtic had in great measure been wholly superseded by the Saxon and Scandinavian languages —the vernaculars of the colonists and founders of the kingdom of Northumbria, which included within its bounds a great part of the Eastern Lowlands of Scotland.

The effects of these conquests and social convulsions, bringing along with them, as they did, successive tides of population and language, are very conspicuous in local Scottish nomenclature. Whilst through the greater part of the country the characteristic impress in this respect is for the most part

Gaelic, combined in particular instances with an indistinguishable blending of the Welsh element, the Eastern Lowlands, and more especially the districts bordering on the German Ocean, exhibit clearly, as regards the appellations of places, the influence of the Saxon and Scandinavian settlers. And the whole tone and mode of thought among the Scottish Lowlands generally, whatever intermingling of Celtic influence may have taken place in point both of blood and language, has for ages been markedly and essentially Teutonic or Scandinavian.

Considering that in the English counties, with the exception of those bordering on Wales, the traces of the ancient British language are but little perceptible in names of places, it may reasonably excite surprise that in the Scottish Lowlands, where assuredly it has for centuries exercised a very limited influence, the Celtic element should still be so predominant in this respect. I can only account for it by supposing that, in the case of South Britain, a savage and uncultivated race was subdued and absorbed at a much earlier period than took place with regard to the ancient inhabitants of the Lowland districts of Scotland. When any race or nation has attained a certain degree of culture, so as to have abandoned its old nomadic and unsettled habits for a more definite and permanent tenure of the soil, the names which it bestows on the various localities of its territory are more likely to be enduring and less apt to give way before the influence of any new tribe of settlers. So at least seems to have been the case in

Scotland, where the basis of local nomenclature, from the Pentland Firth to the Cheviots, is undoubtedly Celtic, though extensive modifications, of greater or less degree, have affected particular localities, in so far as these have longer or from an earlier period been subjected to the influence of the Gothic races. These last, I may remind my readers, comprised two great and closely allied families; the Scandinavian or Danish branch, which effected such extensive settlements in the north of England, as well as on various parts of the Scottish coasts—and the Teutonic or German, which again is subdivided into High German and Low German. With the first of these last-named tongues our present inquiries have nothing to do, as it has linguistically exercised almost no influence whatever in Britain. But Low German, or the language spoken by the low-lying countries bordering on the Baltic and German Ocean, including Schleswig, Holstein, and the Netherlands, forms the skeleton or groundwork both of the English language and of the dialect known as Lowland Scotch.

In the following alphabetical list of the various localities in Culross and Tulliallan, with which I shall conclude this work, I have endeavoured to present every appellation which might either be deemed in itself sufficiently interesting or sufficiently peculiar. Where the origin was very obvious, as in "Ashes," "New Row," &c., I have not thought it necessary to include the name in the category.

Ailie Rocks. The name of the projecting reef of rocks which lies close to the shore, and nearly in a parallel direction with it, opposite the town of Culross. It is doubtless derived from the obsolete Gaelic word *ail*, which means a projecting rock, and is still preserved in combination with *beinn* (a hill), in the term *ailbhinn*, which denotes a projection, a projecting rock, or precipice. *Ail* appears as a suffix in Dunimarle, an adjoining locality in Culross; and it seems also to be the root-word in Alps, in Albion, and in the Latin adjective *altus*.

Balgownie — the town of the smith; from the Gaelic *baile-goibhne*, pronounced very nearly as "Balgownie." *Baile* denotes town, and *goibhne* is the genitive of *gobha* or *gobhainn*, a blacksmith, whence the surnames Gow and Gowan.

Barcrook. The name of a field in the same neighbourhood, situated at the bend or crook where the road diverges to the West Kirk.

Bargatie. The name of a farm which formerly stood on the road between Shiresmill and East Grange. The ascent is still known as "Bargatie Brae." The probable derivation is the Gaelic *barr-ciatach*—the beautiful point or summit. *Ciatach*, as denoting handsome, seems to be the origin of the proper name "Keith," and also occurs in Dalkeith, which may thus be explained as "the beautiful dale

or field." Inchkeith, on the other hand, I am disposed to interpret in the ordinary manner, the Gaelic original being explained as *Innis-ceathach* or *Innisceo*, "the island of mist."

BARHILL. The name of a small property on the north border of the burgh of Culross. *Barr* in Gaelic denotes the summit or extremity of anything, and the property in question comprised the lands lying on the crest of the hill above the town.

BATH. There is now only one place of that name in Culross parish, and it is all incorporated in the estate of West Grange. Formerly there was an Easter and Wester Bath, the former receiving, moreover, the designation of "Chapel Bath." The term has nothing to do, as might at first sight be imagined, with mineral waters or healing springs, the surrounding country having in former days presented little more than a bleak and sterile expanse of moorish upland. It is simply a form of the Gaelic *bad*, a tuft, grove, or thicket. A field on the north-east border of the Tulliallan estate is known as the *Baud Park*, and has doubtless also a similar origin.

BIRKENHEAD—the head of the birchwood. The name of a farm which has now disappeared from the estate of Blair. Many places in Scotland, including a parish adjoining Dunfermline, bear the name of Beath or Beith, which is the Gaelic term for a birch-tree.

Blair. A very common name throughout Scotland, from the Gaelic *blar*, a plain or field. Sometimes it is combined with an affix. Thus in Culross, about a mile to the west of the town, we have the mansion of *Blair Castle*, on the estate of *Blair;* the hamlet of *Blairburn* in the immediate vicinity; and the ancient estate of *Blairhall*, which in the town's charter forms part of the northern boundary of the burgh, and has now, after a long course of years, reverted to a descendant of Edward Bruce, the first Baron of Blairhall, and ancestor of the Elgin and Kincardine families.

Blinkeerie. The name of a farm in the north-east corner of the Tulliallan estate, adjoining the Burrowin. It is clearly a corruption, the word appearing in old documents as *Blankierie* and *Balankierie*, which enable us to trace its origin to the Gaelic *Baile-an-ciar-ach*, the "town of the dark field."

Bluther Burn. The name in its lower course of the stream which separates the parish of Torryburn from that of Culross, and joins the sea at Newmill Bridge. The name is probably onomatopoetic, or formed from the gurgling sound of running water. Sir Robert Sibbald in his 'History of Fife' calls it the *Bloddyr*.

Bordie. The name of a farm on the estate of Blair, on the plateau to the east of and above the

town of Kincardine. It is the modern form of the Gaelic *Bord-ach*, the "table-land" or "table-field." It may here be observed generally that the termination *ie* in names of places frequently represents the Gaelic *ach* or *achadh*, a field.

Braes, The. A name formerly given to a small property in the burgh of Culross, and still commonly applied to the range of sloping banks which go to form the curve of Culross Bay. It is the same word, of course, as the ordinary Scottish *brae*, and comes from the Gaelic *braigh*, which denotes a height or summit.

Brankston, Brankie. Both these names seem to be derived from the same source—that is to say, from the Teutonic *branken* (Dutch *pronken*, and old English *prink*), signifying to strut, flaunt one's self, or look gay. In old Scotch the epithets *brankie* and *branken* are applied to anything gay, lively, or gaudy. Hence the name of the two places above-mentioned; one of them having formerly been the title of a separate property, but now restricted to the mansion of Brankston Grange, on the estate of West Grange—and the other being the name of a farm on the Blairhall estate, adjoining the bridge between Shiresmill and East Grange Station.

Burrowin or Burrowan. The name of a farm near Bogside Station, belonging to the Sands estate. The term is of Saxon origin, and is derived from

the camp or *barrow* of Castlehill in the vicinity. The second syllable denotes a dwelling, from the Anglo-Saxon *wunian* (German *wohnen*, to dwell). "There was an auld wife *wonned* in a glen."—*Old Song.* The whole word thus denotes "the dwelling beside the barrow, mound, or *tumulus*."

Byrefield. The name of a property adjoining Barhill, and now merged in the estate of Culross Abbey. Here we have a Saxon or Scandinavian term, *byre* denoting primarily a building of any kind—from the Anglo-Saxon *burh*, a town (whence *borough*), or the Norse *by*, a dwelling or habitation. Many English towns, such as Kirkby, Whitby, &c., thus show their Danish or Scandinavian origin. In Scotland we have Stonebyres, near Lanark; and Netherbyres, near Eyemouth, in Berwickshire.

Canamans Hollow. A locality mentioned in the guildry records of Culross, and which seems to have been situated in the grounds which now form the enclosure and surround the mansion of the Park. The term is perhaps a corruption of the Gaelic *canach-moine*, or the "cotton moss"—*canach* signifying the moss-cotton or mountain-down, and *moine*, a moss or morass.

Carney Buckle. A locality in Culross moor not far from Bordie, and now covered with wood. The etymology appears to be the Gaelic *carnach-boglach*, the cairny, marshy place.

Carse. A name generally applied to a tract of level alluvial land reclaimed from a river or estuary. The derivation, I am inclined to think, is the Gaelic *carach*, an adjective formed from *car*, a mossy plain or fen.

Caverns. A farm on the estate of Blair, beneath which coal in former days was extensively wrought, so as to render the ground hollow and *cavernous*.

Comrie. A property in the north-east corner of Culross parish, where a confluence takes place of two streams that form respectively the eastern and southern boundary of the estate. The derivation is doubtless the obsolete Gaelic word *comar*, signifying a confluence; and the also obsolete term *abh* (pronounced *aw*), an old word for water. Comrie thus denotes the confluence or meeting of the waters. It occurs in other places in Scotland, as in the well-known Comrie, of earthquake celebrity, in the greater Perthshire, beyond the Ochils; and the word *comar* takes sometimes the form of *Cumber*, as in Cumbernauld and Cumbray. The root is the Gaelic particle *comh* (together), the same as the Latin *con*. There is also the noun *comhair*, signifying a direction or tendency, which is probably only another form of *comar*.

Corsetoun or Couston—the town of the cross; a designation which most commonly takes the latter form, at least as a surname. The lands of Corsetoun

are mentioned in the taxed roll of Culross Abbey, given up in 1630; but the only remembrance preserved of them is in "Couston Wood," situated at the north-west corner of the Valleyfield estate, near the bank of the Bluther Burn opposite Shiresmill. Corse is another form of "Cross," and a hamlet with a cross appears to have existed here prior to the Reformation.

CRAIGENGAR or CREAGAN-GARBH — the rough or rugged rocks. The name given to a reef of small crags or large stones which forms a western continuation of the Craigmore rock. The Gaelic adjective *garbh* (rough) appears in "Garvock," the ancient domain of the Wellwoods, near Dunfermline; and in "Inch Garvie," an island in the Firth of Forth, between North and South Queensferry.

CRAIGMORE — the great rock; from the Gaelic *creig*, a rock, and *mor*, great. The reef at Preston Island is so named.

CULROSS. Generally explained as "the back of the peninsula"—from *cul*, back, and *rois*, the genitive of *ross*, a peninsula. I am strongly inclined to believe, however, that the first syllable is not *cul* (back), but *cuil*, a nook or niche. Culross may thus be defined as "the nook of the peninsula,"—an epithet which every one who has stood on Torryburn Ness and contemplated the town nestling in the nook of the promontory at the western extremity of

the bay, will, I think, admit to be sufficiently appropriate.

DALQUHAMY. An ancient hamlet on the road from Kincardine to Alloa, and about two miles to the north of the former town. The most probable derivation of the name seems to be the Gaelic *dail-uaine* (pronounced Dalwanny), the green field—from *dail*, a field, and *uaine*, green.

DARCLATCH. The name of a ravine or gully in Tulliallan Wood, formerly intersecting the moor of Culross. The derivation is evidently from the Gaelic *darach-clais*, the oak-ravine.

DEAN BURN. The name of the stream which bounds the burgh territory of Culross on the west, and is so called from the *dean*, *den*, or valley through which it flows.

DIVELLY. A farm on the estate of West Grange, on the north border of Culross parish, in a very remote and inaccessible district. The name is an ancient one, occurring in the taxed roll of Culross Abbey in 1630. Its probable derivation is the Gaelic *diblidh*, denoting something mean or abject.

DOW CRAIG—the *black* craig or rock; from *dubh*, the Gaelic adjective for black. A rocky eminence and moorland in the north of Culross parish.

DUNIMARLE. Long known as Castlehill, but restored, since its acquisition by Mrs Sharpe Erskine, to its original designation of Dunimarle. The two terms are indeed nearly identical. Dunimarle signifies "the castle on the projecting rock by the sea," or "the sea-castle of the projecting rock." The Gaelic form is *Dun-na-mara-ail,—dun* being hill or fortress; *na-mara*, the genitive (with the definite article prefixed) of *muir*, the sea; and *ail*, an obsolete term for a projecting rock. The situation of the old castle, of which merely the foundations can now be traced, corresponds thoroughly to this designation. The same word *ail* occurs in the *Ailie Rocks*, a reef opposite Culross.

FORDEL. A small pendicle on the Tulliallan estate, on the sea-shore, near Longannet Point. The name is evidently a form of *foredeal*—the *fore* or *first* deal—as denoting an allotment of land. *Keavil*, as also denoting a lot or allotment of territory, is another term of the same class—from *cavel* or *kevil*, a lot—and gives name to a well-known property in the parish of Dunfermline. There is a large and ancient estate named Fordel about three miles to the south-east of Dunfermline; and there is also a property bearing this designation in the parish of Arngask, Kinross-shire.

GAGIE or GEIGIE—from the Gaelic *geugach*, signifying the *branchy* place, or place of saplings. The

name of a field in the burgh territory of Culross, on the crest and slope of the hill to the west of the Gallows Loan.

GARTERRY. The name of certain lands on the northern border of Tulliallan parish belonging to Lord Abercromby. It is derived from the Gaelic *gart* or *gort*, an enclosure, and *tir*, land, the same as the Latin *terra*.

GOAT, THE. A ravine which forms now the western boundary of the Valleyfield estate, separating it from that of the Abbey. The name is a common one throughout Scotland for any deep ravine or fissure through which water is conveyed. The word is of Anglo-Saxon origin, and derived from *gota*, a pourer; *geotend*, an artery or vein; and the verb *geotan*, to pour or shed. It is probably also allied to *gaw*, an old Scottish word for a furrow or drain —from the Icelandic *gá*, a rent or fissure. The German *giessen*, to pour, is doubtless also a cognate term. There can be little question of the Icelandic or old Norse language, spoken by the ancient Scandinavians, having exercised a great influence both on the dialect and local nomenclature of the Scottish Lowlands. This holds more especially in the case of Berwickshire and East Lothian, formerly incorporated in Northumbria, which, though one of the kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy, was largely colonised by the Danes, as evidenced by many names of places.

GRANGE. The home farm attached to a monastery, where the *grain* crop was raised and stored. In Culross there had been at least three of these granges, all contiguous, and bearing respectively the names of East, Middle, and West Grange. These seem to have been made over, with the other spoils of the monastery, to Alexander Colville, the Commendator of Culross, from whose hands they passed into those of lay proprietors. They have since repeatedly changed hands, and are still held by different owners.

GUTTERFLAT. The field on the south side of the road leading from the Chapel Burn to the West Kirk of Culross. *Flat* is an old Scottish term for a field, and occurs in the names of many places. The name in question thus denotes the "trench field," through which the water found its way from the higher grounds.

INCH. The name given of late years to a farm on the Tulliallan estate, reclaimed in great measure within the last half-century from the Forth. *Innis* (pronounced *innish* or *inch*) is the Gaelic term for an island, a plain by a river-side, and also a pasture. It sometimes denotes, too, a headland.

KEIR. The name of an ancient property, now incorporated with the Tulliallan estate, and lying close to the outskirts of Culross moor. It seems to be the same as the Gaelic *cathair* (pronounced

ka-ir), a town or seat, and occurs in many places in Scotland, as in the well-known Keir in Stirlingshire, the seat of the late Sir William Stirling-Maxwell. Sometimes, however, and doubtless in the proper name Keir, the derivation is from *ciar* (pronounced *keir*), dark or sable.

KELLIEWOOD. The name of a property now incorporated with Sands estate, and extending along the shore of the Forth upwards from Blair quarry. It is simply a reduplication, *coille* being the Gaelic for wood, and converted in local and personal nomenclature into *Kelly* or *Kellie*.

KINCARDINE—the head or point of the sheltered bend or turn: from the Gaelic *ceann*, head; *car*, a bend or turn; and *dion*, shelter. This seems to be the derivation of the name of Kincardine in Tulliallan parish, as it thoroughly corresponds with the situation of the town, in a sheltered place at the point where the Forth makes a considerable bend in passing from the condition of a river to that of an estuary. In the case of other places of the same name, however, throughout Scotland, I am inclined to think that the etymology may be different. Thus, in the case of Kincardine in Menteith, where there is a well-known moss of great extent, the derivation may be *ceann cair-dhuinn*, the head or extremity of the brown moss; and again, with other Kincardines, it may be *ceann cearn* (pronounced *kincairn*), the head of the region or district.

KIRKTON, or "Church Town." The name of a farm in Culross parish, so called from the West Kirk, in its vicinity.

LONGANNET POINT. A promontory or projection on the shore of the Forth about a mile below the town of Kincardine. I have had a good deal of difficulty with the etymology of the name of this place, but am now disposed to regard it simply as *Longan-aite*, the place of ships, there being a fine roadstead for vessels in the immediate vicinity.

LURG. A small property in the parish of Tulliallan, long an independent lairdship, but now incorporated with the Sands estate. It lies on the slope immediately to the north-west of the house of Sands; and its situation corresponds well with its etymology, *learg* signifying in Gaelic the sloping face of a hill, or a sloping place exposed to the sun and sea. The well-known Largs in Ayrshire, and Largo in Fife, have the same derivation.

MAINS, THE. A term commonly applied to a home farm, or to lands occupied and farmed by the proprietor. *Manas* in Gaelic denotes a farm of this description. Sometimes it is styled *par excellence* "the Mains"; at other times it is combined with the name of the estate, as in *Blair Mains*, *Balgownie Mains*, *Blairhall Mains*, &c. It should be mentioned, however, that of these three examples from the parish of Culross, the third at least is but

of recent introduction, the farm in question having, within my own recollection, been known by the more homely appellation of "Duckdub." And as I am on this subject, I may also refer to the grand dominating principle of "gentility" which in the same parish has rejected the familiar and expressive epithet of "Glourowrum," applied to a well-known locality above Shiresmill, and transformed it, not for the better, into "New Farm."

Monté Claret. A farm with a singular name, belonging to the proprietor of Sands, and occupying the moorland plateau to the north of the Dow Craig. As I have already mentioned, the name, along with that of the adjoining farm of Divelly, has been supposed to be of Italian origin, and conferred by some travelled proprietor of bygone days. But this is, to say the least of it, a wholly unsupported conjecture. Monté Claret seems really to be a corruption of the Gaelic *Mointeach Cleireach* — the clerk's moss or moorland — a derivation which is supported by the fact of the neighbouring farm of Bath being also known by the designation of "Chapel Bath" or "The Chapel." It may reasonably be inferred that in Roman Catholic times this remote district was provided with a chapel, at which clergymen from Culross or Dollar might occasionally officiate, seeing that Monté Claret is nearly equidistant from these two places; and the most direct route to or from either lies across the Dow Craig. And the adjoining moorland, either from being frequently

traversed by the ministering priests, or from a portion of it being assigned for their use, might, it is likely enough, acquire the designation of the "clerk's moss."

PARLYHILL. The plateau or summit of the hill immediately outside the Abbey churchyard of Culross, and so called from its having been from time immemorial the favourite meeting-place for "a crack" or "parly" while the bells are ringing for service. The kirk-session in former times issued several edicts for putting an end to these Sunday gossipings, but apparently without effect. The Parlyhill is still a favourite trysting-place on Sundays, more especially for the country folks.

PEFFER MILL DAM. The name of a sheet of water on the Tulliallan estate, on the north border of the old moor of Culross. The etymology of Peffer is rather a *crux*, as it is difficult to connect it with any known or likely term either in the Celtic or Teutonic language. Most assuredly it cannot be referred either to *paper* or *pepper*. It is by no means, however, of rare occurrence in local nomenclature, as there is a Peffer Mill at Liberton, near Edinburgh; a rivulet Peffer in East Lothian, falling into the sea at Aberlady; a tributary of the Earn called the Peffry, in Perthshire; and the famous vale of Strathpeffer, of mineral-water celebrity, in Ross-shire. But I have no doubt that its real origin is the Gaelic *poll-bhir* (pronounced *povver* or *pev-*

ver)—*poll* signifying a pool, and *bhir* being the aspirated genitive of *bir*, an obsolete word for water, the same that enters into the composition of "aber" and "inver." *Peffer*, therefore, denotes the "pool-water," or "the pool of water." In the case of "Peffry," I believe the adjective *reidh* (smooth) is added, making the word *poll-bhir-reidh* (pronounced *povvery* or *pevvery*), or "the pool of smooth water." At the very west extremity of Fife, in the parish of Saline, and not far distant from the Peffer Mill Dam, is a farm called Piper Pool, which is probably a reduplication and another form of "Peffer Pool."

Petty Common. The name given to the tract of land at the foot of the Abbey orchard, and immediately adjoining the north side of the public road between St Mungo's and Culross. It was formerly covered by a row of houses, which were undermined and partly sunk by the machinations of Lord Dundonald in the end of the last century. The name is not uncommon throughout Scotland, and appears simply to denote the "petty" or little common. It is, however, an ancient designation, and must have existed before any houses were erected on this spot.

Pitsoulie. The name of a little pendicle on the north border of the Valleyfield estate. Its etymology seems to be *pit*, a hollow; *suil*, an opening or orifice; and *ach* or *achadh*, a field. The first two syllables may be regarded as a reduplication, and the whole term explained as "the field of the hollow."

Pow. The name given to the little creek or harbour, and secondarily to the adjoining grass plot on the sea-shore, at the east end of the burgh of Culross. It is the same as the Gaelic *poll*, a pool, the two *ll*'s having a liquid sound. The Powburn, near Edinburgh, has a similar derivation, denoting a stream running in pools.

Prebry or Prebrae. A knoll giving name to a farm on the Tulliallan estate, in the north-east quarter of the old moor of Culross. The orthography that I have given above is the old spelling of the word as it appears in the burgh records. In modern times it has been corrupted into *Prayer Brae*, and the notion came to be entertained that it was so called from the circumstance of conventicles having been held here in the persecuting times. These meetings may really have taken place, though there is no actual evidence that they were ever held at the Prebrae. But as regards the word itself, there can, I think, be little question that its derivation is from a different source. It is, indeed, only the Gaelic *Preas-braigh*, or the "thicket height"—*preas* signifying a bush or thicket, and *braigh*, a height or *brae*. A knoll on the moor covered with scrub would very naturally receive this designation.

Psaltercroft. A field or croft above the town of Culross, included probably now within the precincts of the Park. It is mentioned in the taxed roll of the Abbey for 1630, and was evidently so

called from its having been appropriated to the maintenance of the church choir in Roman Catholic times. In Dunfermline, previous to the erection of the New Abbey Church on the site of the old choir, the latter space was known as the "Psalter Churchyard."

Shiresmill. A mill and hamlet in Culross parish at the *shear* (Anglo-Saxon *sceran*, to divide), or place of division between the counties of Fife and Perth. Dandie Dinmont, in 'Guy Mannering,' speaks of the summit of the hill "where the wind and water *shears*." The term denotes, accordingly, "the mill at the boundary." It has nothing to do with the word "shire" in the sense of being the "county mill."

Strynd, The. A rivulet descending from the high ground at the "Lockit Well" above Culross, and falling into the sea after crossing the Laigh Causeway as a covered drain. Formerly it was an open rill throughout. The term is of Saxon origin, having the same derivation as *strain*. *Streingr* in Icelandic signifies a waterfall.

Tulliallan — the fair or beautiful knoll; from the Gaelic *tulach*, a knoll, and *aluinn*, handsome.

Walls. The name of certain lands in the parish of Culross which constitute part of the western boundary of the burgh territory. They are now

included in the Tulliallan estate; but the name is still retained in the *Walls* or *Wa's* Cottages, known also as the Half-way House on the road between Newmills and Kincardine. There has evidently, in former days, been the ruin here of some old castle or mansion which has given name to the property.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF THE BIRDS OF CULROSS AND TULLIALLAN.

By JOHN J. DALGLEISH,
Member British Ornithologists' Union.

The subjoined list, being the result of more than thirty years' observations, may be considered pretty complete. The number of birds found in the district is large for its extent,—a circumstance which may be explained by the presence, on the one hand, of a varied surface of extensive woods, cultivated ground, and moor—and on the other, of a large sea or estuary frontage. It will be observed that the number of birds mentioned as having occurred in the district amounts to one hundred and fifty-two. I have extended the limits of the faunal area on the south, so as to include the whole basin of the Forth, so far as it lies opposite the land portion of the district, as otherwise it would be difficult to define a boundary in that direction. For some valuable notes on the waders and water-fowl of the Firth I am indebted to my friend Mr Harvie Brown of Dunipace.

1. *Turdus viscivorus*, L. Missel-Thrush.—Common, and increasing in numbers.

2. *Turdus musicus*, L. Song-Thrush.—Common.

3. *Turdus iliacus*, L. Redwing.—A few in winter.

4. *Turdus pilaris*, L. Fieldfare.—Most common in early spring.

5. *Turdus merula*, L. Blackbird.—Very common.

6. *Saxicola œnanthe*, L. Wheatear.—Rare, and local.

Obs.—A specimen (young male) of *Saxicola deserti*, Tem., the desert Wheatear, was shot to the west of Alloa, and on the confines of the district, on 26th Nov. 1880, being the first occurrence in Great Britain of this bird, a native of India and Northern Africa.—(Proc. Roy. Phys. Soc. Edin., vol. vi. p. 64.)

7. *Pratincola rubetra*, L. Whinchat.—A few pairs frequent the higher parts of the district.

8. *Pratincola rubicola*, L. Stonechat.—Rare.

9. *Ruticilla phœnicurus*, L. Redstart.—Although not common, a few pairs are found always in summer in the district.

Obs.—*Ruticilla titys*, Scop. Black Redstart.—A female of this rare species was shot on Kincardine ferry south pier by Mr Harvie Brown on 10th November 1875.

10. *Erithacus rubecula*, L. Robin.—Very common.

11. *Sylvia cinerea*, Bechst. Whitethroat.—A common summer visitant.

12. *Regulus cristatus*, Koch. Gold-crest.—Common in the large fir woods, where it breeds.

13. *Phylloscopus trochilus*, L. Willow-Warbler.—Very common.

14. *Phylloscopus sibilatrix*, Bechst. Wood-Warbler.—Not common; bred at Westgrange in 1874.

Obs.—*Phylloscopus rufus*, Bechst. The Chiffchaff.—Bred at Dunmore, opposite Kincardine, in 1866.

15. *Acrocephalus phragmitis*, Bechst. Sedge-Warbler.—Rare, but breeds occasionally in the district.

16. *Accentor modularis*, L. Hedge-Sparrow.—Common.

17. *Cinclus aquaticus*, Bechst. Dipper.—Rare, but increasing in numbers; frequents the Bluther burn.

18. *Acredula rosea*, Blyth. British long-tailed Titmouse.—Not common, but breeds in a few suitable situations.

19. *Parus major*, L. Great Titmouse.

20. *Parus britannicus*, Sharpe and Dresser. British Coal Titmouse.—These two species are very common, especially in the large fir woods.

21. *Parus palustris*, L. Marsh Titmouse.—This species is not common, and I have not known of a nest in the district.

22. *Parus cœruleus*, L. Blue Titmouse.—Very common.

23. *Troglodytes parvulus*, Koch. Wren.—Very common.

24. *Motacilla lugubris*, Tem. Pied Wagtail. — Common. Frequents Tulliallan lochs in immense flocks on autumn migration.

25. *Motacilla melanope*, Pallas. Grey Wagtail.—A few pairs are to be seen every summer on the Bluther burn, where they breed.

26. *Anthus pratensis*, L. Meadow-Pipit.—Not uncommon in the northern part of the district.

27. *Anthus trivialis*, L. Tree-Pipit —A few pairs are to be found every summer.

28. *Anthus obscurus*, Lath. Rock-Pipit. — A few on the shore of the Forth.

29. *Lanius excubitor*, L. Great Grey Shrike.—Five specimens are known to have been killed in the district—three on Tulliallan estate (one of which was obtained by Mr Millar, gamekeeper, on 30th March 1859); one on Westgrange by Mr J. Livingstone, gamekeeper, on 19th March 1881; and the other on the estate of Brucefield.

30. *Ampelis garrulus*, L. Wax-wing.—Mr Millar, Tulliallan, has seen a small flock of four or five individuals more than once, on the embankment of the Forth near Kincardine, and I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of his observation.

31. *Muscicapa grisola*, L. Spotted Flycatcher.—Not numerous, but a regular summer visitant.

32. *Muscicapa atricapilla*, L. Pied Flycatcher.—This species, a very rare visitor to Scotland, has once occurred, a male in young or winter plumage having been shot by Mr J. Livingstone, at Westgrange, on 23d April 1881.

33. *Hirundo rustica*, L. Swallow.—Very common.

34. *Chelidon urbica*, L. Martin.—Not so common as formerly.

35. *Cotile riparia*, L. Sand-Martin.—A few breed in a

quarry at Sands, and occasionally others at Longannet, and in the banks of the Bluther burn.

36. *Certhia familiaris*, L. Tree-creeper.—Common.

37. *Carduelis elegans*, Steph. Goldfinch.—Mr Millar tells me he sees this species almost every winter near Kincardine.

38. *Chrysomitris spinus*, L. Siskin.—A casual but not infrequent winter visitant in small flocks.

39. *Ligurinus chloris*, L. Greenfinch.—Very numerous, and destructive to the crops in autumn.

40. *Passer domesticus*, L. House-Sparrow.—Very common.

41. *Fringilla cœlebs*, L. Chaffinch.—Very common.

42. *Fringilla montifringilla*, L. Brambling.—Is frequently found in hard winters, chiefly near the shore west of Kincardine.

43. *Linota cannabina*, L. Linnet.—Pretty common.

44. *Linota rufescens*, Vieillot. Lesser Redpole.—A winter visitant only, and not common.

45. *Pyrrhula europœa*, Vieillot. Bullfinch.—Not very common, but never entirely absent.

46. *Emberiza citrinella*, L. Yellow-hammer.—Common.

47. *Emberiza schœniclus*, L. Reed-Bunting.—Rare, and local, but breeds regularly.

48. *Plectrophanes nivalis*, L. Snow-Bunting.—This species often appears in large flocks in severe winters, both on the shore and inland.

49. *Sturnus vulgaris*, L. Starling.—Becoming yearly more common: about 25 years ago it was almost unknown in the district.

50. *Garrulus glandarius*, L. Jay.—This beautiful bird is not so common as formerly, but its numbers are occasionally increased in autumn by migrants from other districts.

51. *Pica rustica*, Scop. Magpie.—This species is, I may say, extinct as a resident, though stragglers occur every year from other parts.

52. *Corvus monedula*, L. Jackdaw.—A few are found in the district, notably about the ruins of Tulliallan old castle.

53. *Corvus corone*, L. Carrion Crow.—Still occasionally seen, chiefly in spring, but by no means so common as formerly. I do not think it now breeds regularly in the district.

54. *Corvus cornix*, L. Hooded Crow.—Not common, but a few are trapped at Tulliallan every autumn. I remember a pair breeding on Westgrange many years ago.

55. *Corvus frugilegus*, L. Rook.—Common, there being several rookeries within the district.

56. *Alauda arvensis*, L. Skylark.—Pretty common.

57. *Cypselus apus*, L. Swift.—A few pairs nestle in the walls of Culross Abbey and church, and possibly in other favourable situations.

58. *Caprimulgus europæus*, L. Night-jar.—A regular summer visitant to the large woods in the district.

59. *Dendrocopus major*, L. Great Spotted Woodpecker.—Of this rare species a specimen was shot by Mr J. Livingstone at Westgrange on 3d April 1877.

60. *Alcedo ispida*, L. Kingfisher.—This, the brightest plumaged species of our British birds, occurs occasionally as a straggler at Tulliallan lochs, and on the Bluther Burn, but I have not known of its breeding within the district, although I have seen a pair about the breeding season. In some winters they frequent the salt-marshes on the south side of the Forth opposite Kincardine.

61. *Cuculus canorus*, L. Cuckoo.—Not uncommon in summer. The old birds leave early, but I have seen a young one as late as the middle of September.

62. *Strix flammea*, L. Barn Owl.—Not common, but breeds occasionally: a pair nested in the stables at Valleyfield a few years ago, and I have eggs from another locality within the district.

63. *Asio otus*, L. Long-eared Owl.—Not uncommon; breeds in the fir woods.

64. *Syrnium aluco*, L. Tawny Owl.—Common also; breeds in suitable situations.

65. *Buteo vulgaris*, Leach. Common Buzzard.—One or two are killed every season at Tulliallan, and one was got at Westgrange in the spring of 1876.

66. *Accipiter nisus*, L. Sparrow-Hawk.—Although much persecuted by gamekeepers and others, the sparrow-hawk still breeds in the district in small numbers.

67. *Pernis apivorus*, L. Honey-Buzzard.—Mr Miller in-

forms me that he has shot, at Tulliallan, two specimens of this species, with which he is familiar, the last being obtained two years ago.

68. *Falco peregrinus*, Tunstall. Peregrine Falcon.—Two, both young males, have been killed in the district, and individuals are occasionally seen about the Tulliallan lochs. The nearest breeding-place is at Alva, in Stirlingshire.

69. *Falco æsalon*, Tunstall. Merlin.—Not uncommon. A nest with young was found on the Lockshaw moss, Westgrange, a few years ago.

70. *Tinnunculus alaudarius*, Gmel. More common than the sparrow-hawk, nesting in the fir woods.

71. *Pandion haliaëtus*, L. Osprey.—Occasionally visits Tulliallan lochs. It was observed last about two years ago.

72. *Phalacrocorax carbo*, L. Cormorant.—An occasional visitant on the Forth.

73. *Sula bassana*, L. Gannet or Solan Goose.—Is sometimes seen on the Forth.

74. *Ardea cinerea*, L. Heron.—A few frequent the district, a pair or two breeding at Tulliallan lochs, where they are not permitted to increase. On one occasion the number of nests there was about a dozen.

Obs.—On 12th May 1879 a specimen of *Nycticorax griseus*, L., the Night Heron, was shot at Alloa Park, and is now in possession of the Earl of Mar there.

75. *Anser segetum*, Gmel. Bean Goose.

76. *Anser brachyrhynchus*, Baillon. Pink-footed Goose.—Both of these species are not uncommon on the Forth in winter, and are frequently shot by the punt-gunners at Kincardine.

77. *Bernicla brenta*, Pallas. Brent Goose.—Frequents the Forth in some numbers in winter: a boat-load has been known to be taken to Kincardine pier after a successful shot; but of late years the numbers of wild-fowl on the Firth have much decreased, owing to the constant shooting. An Englishman named Singer for many years lived at Kincardine, earning a living by means of his punt-gun.

Obs.—*Bernicla canadensis*, L. Canada Goose.—I name this species, because, although kept in a semi-domesticated

state on the lochs of Tulliallan, specimens often wander some distance. A fine bird, one of a pair, was killed by Mr Johnston of Sands on Aldie Estate, Kinross-shire, in January of the present year (1885), and which had doubtless wandered from Tulliallan. Besides the Canada Goose, the following species are kept on these lochs—viz.: the Mute Swan (*Cygnus olor*); the Black Swan (*C. atratus*, Lath.); Black-necked Swan (*C. nigricollis*, Gmel.); Bernicle Goose (*Bernicla leucopsis*), which breeds regularly; American Wood-Duck (*Aix sponsa*, L.); Mandarin Duck (*Aix galericulata*, L.); Ruddy Sheldrake (*Tadorna casarca*, L.); and possibly one or two others. A pair of Egyptian geese (*Chenalopex ægyptiacus*, L.) bred also on one occasion on a haystack close to the larger of the lochs. These had strayed of their own accord to the loch, probably from some other preserved water.

78. *Cygnus musicus*, Bechst. Whooper Swan.—An occasional visitant: one was killed close to Sands house many years ago by the gardener; and another more lately on the Forth below Dunmore, by the gamekeeper there. A small flock appeared on the Forth in 1867.

79. *Tadorna cornuta*, Gmel. Sheldrake.—Not uncommon on the Forth; visits also the Tulliallan lochs, and breeds in rabbit-holes in the woods there.

80. *Mareca penelope*, L. Widgeon.—On Forth and at Tulliallan, but not common.

81. *Dafila acuta*, L. Pintail Duck.—Has been observed by Mr Harvie Brown on the Forth at Grangemouth.

82. *Anas boschas*, L. Wild Duck.—Breeds in the woods at Tulliallan, and on the moors in the north of the district, and frequents the Forth in winter, when its numbers are considerably increased by migrants from other districts. In very hard winters a few are found on the Bluther burn.

83. *Chaulelasmus streperus*, L. Gadwall.—A few occasionally on the Forth. Singer killed three a few years ago.

84. *Querquedula circia*, L. Garganey.—Has been also killed near Kincardine by Singer.

85. *Querquedula crecca*, L. Teal.—Breeds in Tulliallan and on the moors, and frequents the Forth in winter.

86. *Spatula clypeata*, L. Shoveller.—During the period from 1851 to 1867, two specimens only were obtained on the Forth, and these on 1st April 1859 by Singer; but several others have been procured since, in the neighbourhood of Kincardine.

87. *Fuligula cristata*, Leach. Tufted Duck.—Common on the Forth; males are more frequent than females. Mr Harvie Brown has killed this species at Grangemouth. Of late years it breeds on Loch Leven.

88. *Fuligula marila*, L. Scaup Duck.—Common on the Forth in winter.

89. *Fuligula ferina*, L. Pochard.—Hundreds frequent the Forth in winter. On one occasion, on the breaking up of a grain vessel at Kincardine, Mr Harvie Brown observed not fewer than fifteen hundred. They were chiefly males.

90. *Clangula glaucion*, L. Golden Eye.—Common on the Forth in winter.

91. *Harelda glacialis*, L. Long-tailed Duck.—A female killed by Mr Harvie Brown at Kincardine ferry, on 20th October 1873, is now in my possession.

92. *Œdemia nigra*, L. Common Scoter.

93. *Œdemia fusca*, L. Velvet Scoter.—Singer has killed these two species frequently at Kincardine.

94. *Mergus merganser*, L. Goosander.—This fine duck is common on the Forth about Kincardine in winter.

95. *Mergus serrator*, L. Red-breasted Merganser.—Also common on Forth in winter.

96. *Mergus albellus*, Smew.—Has been shot by Singer.

97. *Columba palumbus*, L. Ringdove.—The wood-pigeon is at times very plentiful in the district, though not so much so as formerly.

98. *Columba œnas*, L. Stockdove.—This species, until within the last few years confined to England, has of late appeared as a straggler in Scotland. The first recorded instances in which it appeared north of the Forth were in 1878, when one, a female, was killed by Mr James Millar at Tulliallan on 15th March, and another, a male, by Mr J. Livingstone at Westgrange on 2d April following; while a third was killed at Alva about the same time. Since that period it has been found breeding in Berwickshire, Stirlingshire, and even as far north as Dunkeld.

They were common in Stirlingshire in the autumn of 1884, a very large migration having apparently crossed the German Ocean; and they may be looked for in increasing numbers in future.

99. *Turtur communis*, Selby. Common Turtle-Dove. — A young bird was shot on the farm of Blinkeerie, Culross, in the month of September, ten or twelve years ago, by Mr Millar, Tulliallan. Another was shot near Alloa more recently, also in autumn.

100. *Phasianus colchicus*, L. Pheasant.—This bird is scarcely now to be found in its pure state, having been crossed so much with other species, notably with *P. torquatus*, the Ring-necked Pheasant of China.

101. *Perdix cinerea*, Latham. Partridge.—Is fairly numerous, although not so plentiful as in some districts.

102. *Coturnix communis*, Bon. Quail.—A specimen of this bird was shot by Mr R. W. Johnston, in January 1839, at Kellie wood, on Sands estate—a most unusual season for this species to occur in this country.

103. *Lagopus scoticus*, Lath. Red Grouse.—There are a few coveys of this bird on the Lockshaw moss in the north of the district.

104. *Tetrao tetrix*, L. Black Grouse.—Not very common, but not decreasing in number.

105. *Tetrao urogallus*, L. Capercailzie.—This fine bird, formerly a native of Scotland, and reintroduced by the late Marquis of Breadalbane, was brought to Tulliallan some years ago, and has spread to all the neighbouring large fir woods.

106. *Rallus aquaticus*, L. Water-Rail.—Occurs occasionally in winter, and has been shot at Westgrange.

107. *Crex pratensis*, Bechst. Corn-Crake.—This well-known though seldom seen bird is not so common as formerly, owing, in my opinion, to the colder summers lately prevailing.

108. *Gallinula chloropus*, L. Moor or Water Hen.—Not uncommon in suitable localities, and increasing; frequents fresh water only.

109. *Fulica atra*, L. Coot.—Is a regular inhabitant of the Tulliallan lochs, where it breeds.

110. *Charadrius pluvialis*, L. Golden Plover.—Frequents the shores of the Forth and adjacent fields in early winter; one or two pairs breed in the north of the district.

111. *Squatarola helvetica*, L. Grey Plover.—An occasional visitant on the shores of the Forth. I have shot one at Longannet.

112. *Ægialites hiaticula*, L. Ringed Plover.—A few pairs are occasionally in winter on the beach. Many years ago I found a nest near the shore at Sands.

113. *Vanellus vulgaris*, Bechst. Lapwing.—The Peewit is common, breeding on the upland and lowland fields alike, and frequenting the shores in winter.

114. *Strepsilas interpres*, L. Turnstone.—Occasional on the shores of the Firth.

115. *Hæmatopus ostralegus*, L. Oyster-catcher.—Common on the shore in winter.

116. *Scolopax rusticula*, L. Woodcock.—Regularly found in varying numbers, according to the seasons, being more numerous in mild winters. Not known to breed in Scotland until within the last forty years, it now nests regularly in the district, where I have seen numerous nests. This bird when alarmed is at times in the habit of removing its young ones singly, carrying them between the thighs when in flight—a phenomenon I have several times witnessed.

117. *Gallinago cœlestis*, Frengel. Common Snipe.

118. *Lymnocryptes gallinula*, L. Jack Snipe.—Both of these species are found in small numbers; the former breeds in the district.

119. *Tringa alpina*, L. Dunlin.—A common shore species in autumn and winter.

120. *Tringa minuta*, Leisl. Little Stint.—An occasional and probably regular visitor to the shores: one killed at Kincardine 23d January 1873, and several others seen.

121. *Tringa subarguata*, Güld. Curlew Sandpiper.—A regular autumn visitor to the shores in small numbers: Mr Harvie Brown has killed them at Kincardine.

122. *Tringa striata*, L. Purple Sandpiper.—Mr Harvie Brown has seen stragglers on the sand-bank at Grangemouth, and they are plentiful lower down the Firth in winter.

123. *Tringa canutus*, L. Knot. — A regular visitor on autumn migration to the shores of the Firth.

124. *Machetes pugnax*, L. Ruff.—An occasionally common visitant to the shores in early autumn.

125. *Calidris arenaria*, L. Sanderling.—Is occasionally, probably regularly, seen in winter on the shores in small flocks, or singly, but by no means plentiful.

126. *Tringoides hypoleucus*, L. Common Sandpiper.—A summer visitor, and breeds near the Bluther burn. It frequents the ditches near the shore before leaving, but it is not found on the shore itself.

127. *Totanus calidris*, L. Redshank.—Not uncommon on the shore in winter.

128. *Totanus canescens*, Gmel. Greenshank.—Not rare.

129. *Limosa lapponica*, L. Bar-tailed Godwit.—Is common in small flocks in autumn on the shores.

130. *Numenius phæopus*, L. Whimbrel.—Mr Harvie Brown has shot one in autumn on Grangemouth shore, and several lower down the Firth. They appear occasionally in spring migration, on the opposite county of Stirlingshire.

131. *Numenius arquata*, L. Curlew.—Common on the shores in winter. Two or three pairs breed in the north of the district.

132. *Sterna macrura*, Naum. Arctic Tern.

133. *Sterna fluviatilis*, Naum. Common Tern.—Seen on the Forth in autumn, the latter more plentifully.

134. *Hydrochelidon nigra*, L. Black Tern. — A specimen was shot at Grangemouth by the late Mr Edward Alston on 8th September 1870, in plumage of the first autumn.

135. *Rissa tridactyla*, L. Kittiwake.—This beautiful gull, in ordinary seasons, is a tolerably common visitor of late years; but in some seasons, such as 1873 and the present year (1885), when "garvies" or sprats (*Clupea sprattus*) are numerous in the Forth, they appear in vast numbers in pursuit, and in company with other kindred species.

136. *Larus glaucus*, Fab. Glaucous Gull.—Only appears in "sprat" years, but then in considerable numbers, a large proportion of which are young birds.

137. *Larus leucopterus*, Fab. Iceland Gull.—This, another

inhabitant of the far north, only appears when sprats are numerous.

138. *Larus argentatus*, Gmel. Herring Gull.

139. *Larus fuscus*, L. Lesser Black-backed Gull.—Not common, except when the sprat-fishery is large, when both these help to swell the ranks of their congeners.

140. *Larus marinus*, L. Greater Black-backed Gull.—A few are always seen about the shores of the Forth.

141. *Larus ridibundus*, L. Black-headed Gull.—Is very common on the Firth all winter. A colony formerly bred on an island in the larger loch at Tulliallan, now submerged by the draining of the loch.

142. *Larus minutus*, Pallas. Little Gull.—A rare visitant: one was shot on 17th and another on 27th January of the present year (1885) at Kincardine, both females.

143. *Stercorarius catarrhactes*, L. Common Skua.

144. *Stercorarius pomatorhinus*, Tem. Pomatorhine Skua.

145. *Stercorarius crepidatus*, Gmel. Richardson's Skua.

All of these three species have been observed at Kincardine, chiefly in sprat seasons, when their characteristic habit of chasing the other gulls till they drop their prey may be well observed.

146. *Procellaria pelagica*, L. Storm-Petrel.—Three were killed at Kincardine by Mr Harvie Brown on 13th November 1867, but they are seldom seen, especially above Grangemouth.

147. *Colymbus septentrionalis*, L. Red-throated Diver.—An occasional winter resident, flying up the Firth with the tide.

148. *Tachybaptes fluviatilis*, Tunst. Little Grebe.—Common on the Forth in winter; breeds at Tulliallan lochs.

149. *Alca torda*, L. Razorbill.

150. *Lomvia troile*, L. Common Guillemot.

151. *Fratercula arctica*, L. Puffin.

A few of each of these three species appear on the Forth in frosty weather, or after easterly gales in winter.

152. *Mergulus alle*, L. Little Auk.—An occasional winter visitant to the Forth: one was killed at Kincardine on 17th January of the present year (1885). Several were got at Alloa about the same time, and numbers seen lower down the Forth.

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